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CONTENTS

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

New Series, Vol. 11, 1935

ARTICLES

SHORT NOTE

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

JOURNAL

OF THE

BOMBAY BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

VOL. 11 | 1935 | NOS. 1 & 2

GOTRA AND PRAVARA IN VEDIC LITERATURE*

BY P. V. KANE

A comprehensive history of *gotra* and *pravara* has yet to be written. The mass of material on this subject to be digested and reduced to order is so vast and bewildering that the learned author of the Pravara-mañjarī (p. 72, ed. by Chensalrao) remarks in despair 'Here, in the parts of sūtras that have been quoted there is a great divergence in the order of the texts of the several sūtrakāras, this being specially so in the text of the Āśvalāyanasūtra. Thus, though divergence is thus clearly established yet following the order of the text of the majority of writers such as Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Kātyāyana we shall declare the rules about marriage or no marriage' [1] and again (p. 134) 'Here in this section on the pravara, mānava, the opinions of the sūtrakāras appear to be extremely incomprehensible owing to inconsistencies in the

* This paper was read at the 7th Oriental Conference held in Baroda in December 1933. Only a summary will be published in the Proceedings of the Conference.

[1] अत्रोदाहृतेषु सूत्रकाण्डेषु सूत्रकाराणां पाठक्रमव्यत्यासो महानस्ति विशेषतश्चाश्वलायनसूत्रपाठे । ... एवं भेदे सिद्धे सत्यपि बौधायनापस्तम्बकात्यायनादीनां बहूनां पाठक्रमानुसारेण विवाहाविवाहौ वक्ष्यामः ।

earlier and later portions (of the same author) and the mutual contradictions of the authors.'[1]

Gotra entered into numerous daily practices of the ancient Aryans in India and it was of supreme importance in several fundamental matters. Only a few examples of both kinds may be stated here from the sūtra literature alone.

(1) In marriage the bride and bridegroom had to be of different gotra's. *Vide* Gobhila-gṛ III.4. 3-5, Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛ I.19.2, Āp. Dh. S. II.5.11.15. In offering *lājas* into fire at the time of marriage, gotra made a difference; two offerings were to be made by all except Jāmadagnyas, who had to make three; *vide* Āś. Gṛ. S. I.7.8. According to Gobhila-gṛ II.3.13 the bride after being shown the pole-star was to bow to her *guru* (husband acc. to the com.) after repeating her gotra.

(2) In inheritance, the wealth of one dying without issue went to men of his own gotra, as said in Gautama Dh. S. 28.19.

(3) In śrāddha the brāhmaṇas to be invited should not belong as far as possible to the same gotra as that of the person inviting; *vide* Āp. Dh. S. II.7.17.4, Gautama Dh. S. 15.20, Vaikhānasa-smārtasūtra 4.3.

(4) In *pārvaṇa sthālīpāka* and other pākayajñas, all were to cut off oblations from the middle and the fore half of the *havis*, but for Jāmadagnyas (who are *pañcāvattins*) they were to be cut off from the middle, the fore part and the hind part. *Vide* Āś. Gṛ. S. I. 10. 18-19. The same holds good as to śrauta rites also; *vide* Mānavaśrauta I.3.2.5.

(5) In the two *ājyabhāgas* clarified ghee was to be taken four times for all, but five times for Bhṛgus; *vide* Khādiragṛhya II.1.17, Gobhila-Gṛ. I.8.4.

(6) In offering water to a *preta* (person recently dead) his gotra and name were to be repeated (Āś. Gṛ. 4.4.10).

(7) In the *caula* (tonsure) ceremony of a boy tufts of hair were to be left in accordance with the particular gotra and the immemorial practice of the family (of the boy's father); *vide* Khādira-gṛ. II.3.30 ' yathā-gotra-kulakalpam'.

1 अत्रहि मानवे प्रवरकाण्डे सूत्रकाराणामभिप्रायाः पूर्वापरविरोधात् परस्परविरोधाच्चा-त्यन्तदुरवबोधा इवावभान्ति ।

The above examples will make it clear that the system of gotra was closely intertwined with numerous rites in the family. This presupposes that it must have been a growth of ages. The general conception is that it denotes descendants who trace descent in an unbroken male line from a common ancestor. The Baudhāyana-śrauta (Pravarādhyāya, B.I. edition, vol. III, p. 467) says 'the seven sages are Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Bharadvāja, Gautama, Atri, Vasiṣṭha and Kaśyapa ; the issue of these seven sages together with Agastya as the eighth constitute *gotra*.'[1] The same work says in the same place that there are thousands, ten thousands and *arbudas* (crores) of gotras, but the *pravaras* of these gotras are only 49. The Pravaramañjarī (Chensalrao, p. 2) has a verse which says that the gotras number three crores and therefore it is most difficult to comprehend them. The view put forward by the Baudhāyana-śrauta-sūtra that the most ancient gotras are only eight and that the descendants or issue of these eight sages constitute gotra was well-known to Patañjali. Patañjali also mentions that there were 88,000 sages.[2] The Āpastamba Dh. S. (II. 9. 23.3-4) quotes two verses from a Purāṇa, wherein the fate of 88,000 sages who desired offspring and 88,000 sages who did not desire offspring is referred to. Pāṇini defines gotra in a more restricted way for grammatical purposes as 'apatyam pautra-prabhṛti gotram' (IV. I. 162). But even Pāṇini employs the word gotra in this restricted sense only in *apatyādhikāra*, but elsewhere he uses the word gotra in the popular sense as comprehending all the descendants of a common ancestor. *Vide* Kāśikā on Pāṇini IV. 2.39 and IV. 3.80. The Mahābhārata Śāntiparva (chap. 297 verses 17-18, Bombay ed.) says rather abruptly that there were only four original gotras, *viz.*, Aṅgiras, Kaśyapa, Vasiṣṭha and Bhṛgu. This dictum of the great epic has probably no solid ancient tradition behind it and seems to me to be a later imaginative guess. The Matsya, Agni and other Purāṇas give elaborate and conflicting accounts about gotras and

1 विश्वामित्रो जमदग्निर्भरद्वाजोथ गौतमः। अत्रिर्वसिष्ठः कश्यप इत्येते सप्त ऋषयः॥ तेषां सप्तर्षीणामगस्त्याष्टमानां यदपत्यं तद्गोत्रमुच्यते।

2 अष्टाशीतिः सहस्राणि ऊर्ध्वरेतसामृषीणां बभूवुस्तत्रागस्त्याष्टमैर्ऋषिभिः प्रजनोऽभ्युपगतः। तत्रभवतां यदपत्यं तानि गोत्राणि अतोन्ये गोत्रावयवाः।' [महाभाष्य ed. by Kielhorn, vol. II, p. 233 on 'गोत्रावयवात्' पा. IV. 1. 79.]

pravaras. Therefore it is necessary to go far behind the sūtras and the purāṇas in order to understand the origin and development of the system of gotra and pravara and to make a detailed study of vedic literature. In the following pages an humble attempt is made in that direction.

First I shall take the word gotra for treatment.

In the Ṛgveda the word gotra occurs several times. But in most cases, if not in all, where it is employed, it appears to be used in a totally different sense from the present sense of the word gotra. In a few verses the word *gotra* means 'cowstall' or 'herd of cows.' Ṛg. I.51.3 'thou hast disclosed the cowstall to the Aṅgirases and thou that findest (all) ways (discovered a way) for Atri (confined) in a hundred doors';[1] Ṛg. III. 39.4 'the glorious Indra, endowed with marvellous power, laid bare for these (Aṅgirases) the cowstall that had been strongly guarded';[2] Ṛg. X. 120.8 'he (Indra) rules over the great self-luminous herd of cattle and threw open all the doors.'[3] *Vide* also Ṛg. II.17.1; III. 30.21; III. 43.7; IX. 86.23; X. 48.2. In all these the word gotra has almost the same sense as *goṣṭha* or *vraja* both of which occur in the Ṛgveda (VI. 28.1 and X. 97.8 have goṣṭha and IV. 20.8, VI. 73.3 and VII. 27.1 have vraja). By a natural metaphor gotra came to mean a cloud (in which waters are pent up as in a cowpen) or cloud demon and also a mountain range or peak which conceals water-yielding clouds. Ṛg. II. 23.3 'O Bṛhaspati, (thou mountest the car) that is terrible, that subdues foes, that kills demons, that pierces the clouds and finds light';[4] Ṛg. IV. 16.8 'when praised by the Aṅgirases, thou, a leader, layst open for us plentiful wealth after shattering the cows.' Ṛg. X. 103.7 (=Tai. S. IV. 6.4.2, Atharva V. 2.8 and Vāj. S. 17.39) 'the warrior Indra, who plunges with might towards the clouds, merciless and with a hundred furies.' *Vide* also Ṛg. VI. 17.2; X. 103.6. In some of these verses it is possible to take gotra in the sense of fort. It is difficult to say what gotra means in Ṛg. VIII. 63.5 'the singers have quickly

[1] त्वं गोत्रमङ्गिरोभ्योऽवृणोरपोतात्रये शतदुरेषु गातुवित्। ऋ. I. 51.3

[2] इन्द्र एषां दृंहिता माहिनावानुद्गोत्राणि ससृजे दंसनावान्। ऋ. III.39·4

[3] महो गोत्रस्य क्षयति स्वराजो दुरश्च विश्वा अवृणोदप स्वाः। ऋ. X. 120·8

[4] बृहस्पते भीममभित्रदम्भनं रक्षोहणं गोत्रभिदं स्वर्विदम्। ऋ. II 23.3

praised thee, O Indra, for the gift of gotra'[1] (which Sāyaṇa renders as 'dhana' here). In some cases gotra simply means 'assemblage' (samūha); Ṛg. II. 23.18 'for thy glory, Oh Aṅgiras (Bṛhaspati here) the mountain split itself when thou laidest bare the herd of kine';[2] Ṛg. VI. 65.5 'Oh Dawn, that lingerest on the mountains, the Aṅgirases do declare that the herds of kine are thine.'[3]

From this last sense of 'an assemblage or group' the transition to the meaning of 'a group of persons' is both easy and quick. Though there is no positive use of the word gotra in the Ṛgveda in the sense of 'descendants of a common ancestor,' it will be plain from the remarks to be made later on that the conception underlying the idea of gotra was quite familiar even in the age of the Ṛgveda. There are other words in the Ṛgveda which are used in two senses, *e.g.*, the word 'Yuga' (which means a yoke in Ṛg. X. 101.3, and 'a long period of time' in Ṛg. I. 192. 11; I. 158.6, VII. 9.4; III. 26.3; X. 94.2 and other places). The argument from silence cannot reasonably be pushed so far as to assert that the word *gotra* had *not* come to mean in the Ṛgvedic age 'a group of men.'

In the Atharva-veda V. 21.3 we read 'made of forest tree, brought together with ruddy kine, *belonging to all the families,* speak thou alarm for our enemies, being smeared with sacrificial butter'[4] (Whitney). Here clearly the word 'gotra' which is seen in the form 'viśvagotryaḥ' means 'a group of men connected together' (by blood). In the Kauśika-sūtra (IV. 2) while describing Darśa-Paurṇamāsa a Vedic mantra is quoted 'Oh Soma, do thou who art divine and supervisest men, show to us easy paths, mayst thou lead towards us as towards wise men our gotra; thou sendest towards us speech that is fond of us.' Here gotra seems beyond doubt to mean 'a group of persons.'

In the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā several passages show that descendants of great sages like Vasiṣṭha were called after the names of

1 धात्रमर्का अनूषतेन्द्र गोत्रस्य दावने। ऋ. VIII. 63·5

2 तव श्रिये व्यजिहीत पर्वतो गवां गोत्रमुदसृजो यदङ्गिरः। ऋ. II. 23·18

3 इदा हि त उषो अद्रिसानो गोत्रा गवामंगिरसो गृणन्ति। ऋ. VI. 65·5

4 वानस्पत्यः संभृत उस्रियाभिर्विश्वगोत्र्यः। प्र त्रासममित्रेभ्यो वदाज्येनाभिघारितः॥ अथर्ववेद V. 21·3.

those sages. In Tai. S.I.8.18.1 it is said 'the Hotṛ is a Bhārgava.' The com. explains that in the model sacrifice the Hotṛ may be the descendant of anybody, but in the Rājasūya which is a modification the hotṛ must be a descendant of Bhṛgu. It is quite possible that descent was traced through teacher and pupil as well as by blood through father and son. But in those days there being no numerous occupations, the son would learn from his father the sacred lore of the latter. In Tai. S. III.5.2.1 the story is told that Vasiṣṭha learnt from Indra certain formulas called *stomabhāgas* and that in the Jyotiṣṭoma the Brahmā priest must be a Vāsiṣṭha. In Tai. S. VII. I.9.1, we read[1] 'Jamadagni, desirous of prosperity, offered the *catūrātra* (four nights' rite); he prospered as to the (well-known) *poṣas* (modes of prosperity, *e.g.*, progeny, cattle, etc.); therefore one does not know (or find) two Jāmadagnyas (in succession) who are poor (or grey-haired).' From this passage it is clear that in the times of the Tai. S. Jamadagni was a very ancient sage, that several generations of Jamadagni's descendants had passed away by that time, that they were all known as Jamadagnis and that no two descendants of Jamadagni were found to be poor (or grey-haired) in succession.

In the Maitrāyaṇi Saṁhitā (III. 8.9) we read "'thou art a cover for all people'; with these words he sets up a roof, for they proceed gotra by gotra."[2] This passage is supposed to indicate that each gotra had its own special rites and formulae (*vide* Hasting's Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, under *gotra*).

In numerous *mantras* of the Ṛgveda the descendants of well-known sages are denoted by the use of the plural form of the names of the sages. For example, Ṛg. X. 66.14 'the Vasiṣṭhas have raised their voices like their father, praying like the sage to the gods for their welfare'[3]; Ṛg. VI. 36.5 'May I not be deprived of the cow that yields bright (milk), wise one (Indra), inspire the Aṅgirases with prayer.' Here in the preceding verse the Bharadvājas are named and they appear to be referred to

[1] जमदग्निः पुष्टिकामश्चतूरात्रेणायजत स एतान्पोषानपुष्यत्तस्मात् पलितौ जामदग्न्यौ न सञ्जानाते। तै. सं. VII. 1·9·1

[2] विश्वजनस्य छायासीति छदिरभिनिदधाति गोत्राद्गोत्राद्धि प्रसर्पन्ति।

[3] वसिष्ठासः पितृवद्वाचमक्रत देवाँ ईळाना ऋषिवत्स्वस्तये। ऋ. X. 66·14

as Aṅgirases in this verse. According to the Āśvalāyana-sūtra, Bharadvāja is a gotra falling under the Aṅgirogaṇa. Ṛg. VIII.69.8 'Oh Priyamedhas, worship, worship, worship (Indra); and may the sons worship, worship the bold one (Indra) as a city (or fort)'. Here 'sons' being specially mentioned, it has to be supposed that 'Priyamedhas' includes remoter descendants of Priyamedha than sons.

Turning to the Brāhmaṇa Literature there are ample indications that the priestly families had become grouped into several groups named after their (real or supposed) founders and that they differed in matters of details of worship according to the group they belonged to.

The Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa (I. 1.4.8) prescribes that the consecration (*ādhāna*) of the sacred Vedic fires is to be performed for Bhṛgus and Aṅgirases with the Mantra 'bhṛgūṇām-tvā-ṅgirasām vratapate vratenādadhami,' that for the other Brāhmaṇa groups with the mantra 'ādityānām tvā devanām vratapate, etc.'; the *same* brāhmaṇa further prescribes separate mantras for a king, for a kṣtriya who is not a king, for a vaiśya and for a *rathakāra* (carpenter). The *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa again* (II.2.3.7) refers to the 'Āṅgirasī prajā' (people of the Aṅgiras group) by saying 'therefore the Āṅgirasa people carry the oblation to the Ādityas (*meditating* on them) as sitting among the metres.' The Tāṇḍya-mahā-brāhmaṇa [1] (18.2.12) prescribes that the *camasa* (cup) made of *udumbara* was to be given (as dakṣiṇā) to a sagotra brāhmaṇa in order that the drinking of soma may not become fruitless. The Śāṅkhāyana-brāhmaṇa [2] (25.15) lays down that one who has performed the Viśvajit sacrifice (in which a man was to give in gift everything of his) should stay for a year with a brāhmaṇa having the same gotra as his. The Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-brāhmaṇa (III.3.4) says "He asks him when he approaches 'who art thou?'; he announces whatever he may be by name or by gotra." The Aitareya-brāhmaṇa contains several very interesting passages on the question of gotra. In the Dvādaśāha before the dīkṣā a

[1] सगोत्राय ब्रह्मणे देयः सोमपीथस्याव्यपोहाय। ताण्ड्य 18·2·12

[2] ब्राह्मणे समानगोत्रे वसेदसमाने गोत्रेऽन्नाद्यं तस्योपाप्त्यै संवत्सरं चरेदधः संवेश्य। कौषीतकि ब्रा. 25·15

prājāpatya paśu was to be offered. The Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (Haug's ed. IV. 26 and 19.4. Ānandāśrama ed.) prescribes that the Āprī verses which are ascribed to Jamadagni, (*i.e.*, Ṛgveda X. 110.1-11) are to be recited over the immolation of the animal. Then a question is raised as to why the Āprī verses ascribed to Jamadagni are to be recited by all in this prājāpatya paśu, when in the case of other paśus, the Āprī verses respectively ascribed to the several sages are to be recited for the respective descendants of those sages. In the section dealing with Aitaśapralāpa there is a story of Aitaśa and his son Abhyagni and the Aitareya (VI 33=30.7) ends the story by saying 'therefore they say that the Aitaśāyanas Abhyagnis are the most sinful of the Aurvas.' The same story occurs in the Kauṣītaki-brāhmaṇa where it is said 'The Aitaśāyanas being of noble birth became the lowest among Bhṛgus, as they were cursed by their father.' The Aitaśāyanas are a sub-section of the great Bhṛgugaṇa, according to Baud. In the story of Śunaḥśepa we are told that Śunaḥśepa, when he was accepted as a son by Viśvāmitra, came to be called Devarāta and that the Kāpileyas and Bābhravas were affiliated to Devarāta (VII. 17=33.5).[1] According to the Āp. śrauta-sūtra and Satyāṣāḍha, Devarāta and Babhru are sections of Viśvāmitra gotra. The Aitareya contains a gāthā which is interesting and shows that the gotra relationship was by birth and that all descendants went by the name of the founder of the gotra 'thou art known as a sage, a son of Ajīgarta and as an Āṅgirasa by birth; therefore, Oh sage, do not go away from the line (thread) of your grand-father, return to me.'[2] It is further said that the names of some of Viśvāmitra's younger sons were Madhucchandas, Ṛṣabha, Reṇu, and Aṣṭaka. These (except Ṛṣabha) are either sub-divisions of Viśvāmitra gotra or pravaras of some sub-divisions of that gotra according to the sūtras. It is further to be noted that as Gāthina was the father of Viśvāmitra and Kuśika was his grand-father he addresses his sons as 'Gāthināḥ' and also as 'Kuśikāḥ.' We are further told that the founder of Ajīgarta's family was Jahnu.

[1] स ह देवरातो वैश्वामित्र आस । तस्यैते कापिलेयबाभ्रवा: । ऐ. ब्रा. VII-17

[2] आंगिरसो जन्मनासि आजीगर्तिः श्रुत: कवि: । ऋषे पैतामहात्तन्तोर्मापगा: पुनरेहि माम् । ऐ. ब्रा. VII. 17.

In the story of Rāma Mārgaveya (Ait. Br. VII. 27=35.1) we are told that Asitamṛgas were a section of the Kaśyapas. According to the Āśvalāyana-śrauta Asita is one of three pravara-ṛṣis of Kaśyapa-gotra. In the story of Hariścandra we are told (Aitareya-br. VII. 16) 'his *hotṛ* priest was Viśvāmitra, *adhvaryu* was *Jamadagni*, *Vasiṣṭha was Brahmā priest and Ayāsya* was the *Udgātṛ*'. We saw above that the Brahmā was to be Vāsiṣṭha according to the Tai. S. Ayāsya is a sub-division of Aṅgiro-gaṇa.

In the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (II. 6) there is a verse 'Do undertake (works) with clarified butter; do persist in (what is undertaken); you two guard the path common (to you both); whatever *pūrta* (charitable acts) you have done and whatever you have served into fire, Oh husband and wife, you two should persist in it for that *gotra* (for all persons of that gotra to which you belong).' [1]

In the famous story of Satyakāma Jābāla in the Chāndogyopaniṣad (IV. 4) the teacher asks him what his gotra is. As the boy's mother was not able to tell him his gotra he truthfully tells the teacher that he does not know it and the teacher styles him Jābāla, after his mother Jabālā. Many inferences have been drawn from this story, one being that a teacher could give a fanciful gotra to a student (*vide* Hasting's Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. V, p. 354). It has to be borne in mind that Satyakāma Jābāla is mentioned as a very ancient sage in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, which quotes his view on the Vyāhṛtis in the coronation ceremony (Aitareya-bṛ. VIII. 7=37.2). Instead of holding on the strength of a single story found in the Chāndogya that a teacher could give any gotra name to a pupil, it is rather more *reasonable* to hold that the story in the Chāndogya is no more than an ancient attempt to give an etymology of the word Jābāla as a gotra. [2] Such etymologies occur very frequently in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads; *vide* etymology of Aṅgiras in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa III.34 and of Atri in Bṛhadāraṇyaka II.2.4. The Gobhilagṛhya-sūtra (II.10.22-25) says that in Upanayana the ācārya asks the

[20] आरभेथामनु संरभेथां समानं पन्थानवथो घृतेन । यद्वां पूर्तं परिविष्टं यदग्नौ तस्मै गोत्रायेह जायापती संरभेथाम् ॥ तै. आ. II 6. Compare अथर्ववेद VI. 122·3

[21] *In Ephigraphia Indica vol. XI, p. 93, the donee in a* charter of महाभवगुप्त I is a ब्राह्मण विष्णुशर्मन् of जाबालगोत्र and वाजसनेयशाखा.

boy his name in the words 'what is your name,' that the ācārya gives him a name derived from a *devatā* or from a nakṣatra for the purpose that the boy may use it at the time of bowing at his teacher's feet and that according to some writers also a name depending on the boy's *gotra* may be given (for the same purpose). This shows that the teacher was to ask the boy's gotra and to order him to use his gotra name (such as Śāṇḍilya) at the time of *abhivādana*. We are told in the sūtras that at Nāmakaraṇa the boy was named after a deity (such as Haradatta, Rudradatta) or after a nakṣatra (such as Puṣya-mitra, &c.). In the Upaniṣads several gotras are named incidentally. For example, in Praśna Upaniṣad I.1 we have persons of Bhāradvāja, Gārgya, Āśvalāyana, Bhārgava and Kātyāyana gotras; in the Chāndogya V. 14.1 and V. 16.1 Indradyumna Bhāllaveya and Buḍila Āśvatarāśvi are both addressed as Vaiyāghrapadya and Uddālaka Āruṇi as Gautama; in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka (II. 2.4) Gautama and Bharadvāja, Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni, Vasiṣṭha and Kaśyapa are mentioned in pairs.

The result of the preceding discussion may be summarised thus. The word *gotra* is used in the Ṛgveda in the sense of a 'cowstall' or 'herd of cows' and sometimes in the sense of a cloud or mountain and possibly in the sense of 'a group or assemblage of persons' and that the descendants of great sages like Vasiṣṭha had come to be called collectively by the plural of the word denoting the ancestor. In the Tai. S. persons descended from a common ancestor appear to be grouped separately where it is said that the *hotṛ* must be a Bhārgava or that the Brahmā must be a Vāsiṣṭha, that in the Atharvaveda and Maitrāyaṇi Saṁhitā, the word gotra appears to be used in the modern sense. In the Tāṇḍya and other Brāhmaṇas words like *Sagotra* occur in the modern sense and several prominent *gaṇas* like the Bhṛgus and Aṅgirases with their divisions and sub-divisions are specifically referred to. For example, the Aitaśāyanas are referred to as a section of the Bhṛgus, Kāpileyas and Bābhravas as sub-sections of Viśvāmitra-gaṇa. In the Upaniṣads before a brahmacāri was accepted as a pupil he was asked his gotra. The question whether the gotra system had so far been extended as to apply to marriages cannot be answered with as much confidence as could have been

wished. The Vedic literature of the Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas being concerned with the solemn śrauta sacrifices had no occasion to refer to the prohibition of marriage in the same gotra. But when the texts are so particular as to lay down that a man should stay with his *sagotra* after performing Viśvajit it appears to be a natural extension of the same feeling that he should be called upon to choose a wife from another group. The prohibition of *sagotra* marriage in the sūtra age was absolute and such a rule must have grown up only during the lapse of centuries. Therefore we shall not be far wrong if we suppose that during the Brāhmaṇa period at least restrictions as to gotra in marriage were prevalent.

The conception of *pravara* is closely interwoven with that of gotra from very ancient times. Apart from employment in invoking Agni in Vedic rites it entered in numerous ways into several domestic ceremonies and practices even according to the gṛhya and dharma sūtras. To take a few examples :—

(1) As a general rule, a bride was to be chosen whose father's pravara was not the same as the bridegroom's; Mānavagṛhya I. 7-8, Vārāhagṛhya 9, Gautama-dharmasūtra IV. 2.

(2) In Upanayana the *mekhalā* (girdle) was to have one, three or five knots according to the number of pravararṣis. *Vide* Śāṅkhāyana-gṛhya II. 2 (and com. thereon), Kāṭhaka-gṛhya 41.13 (and com. of Devapāla and Brahmabala thereon), Manu II. 43.

(3) From Śāṅkhāyanagṛhya II. 2 (where there is a dialogue between the ācārya and the boy whose upanayana is to be performed) it appears that the ācārya was required to have the same pravara as the boy.

(4) In the Cūḍā-karma, the number of tufts of hair left on the head depended upon the pravaras. *Vide* Āp. Gṛ. S. VI. 16.6.

Pravara literally means 'choice' or 'invokation' (prārthanā). As it was usual to invoke Agni to carry the offerings of a sacrificer to the gods by taking the names of the illustrious ṛṣi-ancestors who in former times had invoked Agni, the word *pravara* came to denote one or more illustrious ancestors of a sacrificer. A synonym of pravara is *ārṣeya*. It was laid down that the *pravara* of the several

gotras may be constituted by one, two, three or five ṛṣis, but not by four. This is a very ancient rule as it appears in all śrauta sūtras. Why the number four was eschewed it is impossible to say. The vast majority of gotras have three *pravaras*. We may perhaps see in this some connection with the practice of performing śrāddha for three paternal ancestors. The system of *pravaras* is very ancient and almost goes back to the times of the Ṛgveda. The word ārṣeya occurs in the Ṛgveda, though the word *pravara* does not occur therein. Ṛg. IX.97.51 '(Oh Soma!), when thou art cleaned (by being passed through a *pavitra*), send towards us celestial wealth and all earthly wealth; so that thereby we may acquire riches and ṛṣihood (ārṣeya) resembling Jamadagni's.' [1] In several other verses of the Ṛgveda, the same idea is conveyed though the word 'ārṣeya' or 'pravara' is not used. For example, Ṛg. VIII. 102.4 'I invoke pure (or bright) Agni who is surrounded by the sea (or wellkin) just as Aurva, Bhṛgu and Apnavāna did.' [2] It is a remarkable fact that according to Baudhāyana-śrauta-sūtra, these are three out of the five pravaras (Bhārgava-cyāvanā, pnavānaurva-jāmadagnyeti) of Vatsa-Bhṛgus. The Anukramaṇī ascribes Ṛg. VIII. 102 to a Bhārgava named Prayoga. In Ṛg. I.45.3 the sage exclaims 'Oh Jātavedas, whose ordinances are great, give heed to the summons (*havam*) of Praskaṇva, as in the case of Priyamedha, Atri, Virūpa and Aṅgiras.' In Ṛg. X. 150.5 the sage (Mṛḷīka, son of Vasiṣṭha according to the Anukramaṇī) asserts 'Agni protected in our fight Atri, Bharadvāja, Gaviṣṭhira, Kaṇva, Trasadasyu; Vasiṣṭha, the purohita, invokes Agni, (who is) the purohita (placed in front of) for Mṛḷīka (the sage or for happiness).' These are all pravara names though not of the same gotra. In Ṛg. VII.18.21 the sage says 'They, who from house to house, gladdened (thee), being desirous of thee, *viz.* (the sage) Parāśara, Śatayātu and Vasiṣṭha, will not forget the friendship of a liberal patron (like thee); may therefore happy days dawn for (these) wise men." [3] This mantra occurs in a maṇḍala which is ascribed to the clan of Vasiṣṭha and it is remarkable that it mentions

[1] अभि येन द्रविणमश्नवामाभ्यार्षेयं जमदग्निवन्नः । ऋ. IX. 97·51

[2] और्वभृगुवच्छुचिमप्नवानवदा हुवे । अग्निं समुद्रवाससम् ॥ ऋ VIII-102·4

[3] प्र ये गृहादममदुस्त्वाया पराशरः शतयातुर्वसिष्ठः । ऋ. VII.18·21

Parāśara (who in later mythology is a grandson of Vasiṣṭha and the son of Śakti), Śatayātu (which is equivalent to Śakti according to Sāyaṇa) and Vasiṣṭha. Parāśara, Śakti and Vasiṣṭha are the pravaras according to Baudhāyana of the several branches of Parāśaras, who are a section of the Vasiṣṭhagotra.[1]

Turning to the Atharvaveda, the word 'ārṣeya' occurs in it several times. In Atharva XI.1.16 the word 'ārṣeyaḥ' appears to mean 'those persons who are connected with or sprung from ṛṣis'; in Atharva XI.1.25 and 32 the word is used in the same sense 'may not (Oh Soma) those who partake of thee and who are ārṣeyas (connected with ṛṣis) suffer harm'; Atharva XI.1.26 'I whose summons is good call loudly to the brahman-rice-dish the sages and those who are connected with the sages (ārṣeyān)'; Atharva XI.1.33 'I place thee, Oh, rice-dish, among ārṣeyas, for those who are not ārṣeyas there is no portion here'; Atharva XI.1.35 '(Oh Brahman-rice-dish) thou art a heaven-going bull; go to the ṛṣis and the ārṣeyas.' Atharva XII.4.2 and 12 contain the same half verse 'he who does not desire to give the cow of the gods to the ārṣeyas when they ask for her'; the last pādas of Artharva XVI.8.12 and 13 are 'May he not be freed from the fetters of ṛṣis . . . May he not be freed from the fetters of ārṣeyas.'

This examination of the Atharvaveda passages shows that there the word ārṣeya is used in the sense of 'descendants of sages or those who are related to sages.'

In the Vājasaneya-saṁhitā VII. 46 we have a *mantra* 'May I secure to-day a brāhmaṇa, who has a worthy father and worthy grandfather (and other ancestors), who is himself a ṛṣi and an ārṣeya (sprung from a ṛṣi) and whose fee (dakṣiṇā) is of good metal.'[2] The same passage occurs in Tai.S.I.4.43 where we read 'rādhyāsam' for 'videyam.' In Tai. S. VI. 6.1.4 the words 'ṛṣim—ārṣeyam' of Tai S.I.4.43 are explained 'that brāhmaṇa is surely a ṛṣi and sprung from a ṛṣi who has mastered learning.'[3]

[1] 'Śatayātu' may mean literally 'one who is a master of a hundred magic tricks' or 'he on whom a hundred magic tricks were practised'.

[2] ब्राह्मणमद्य विदेयं पितृमन्तं पैतृमत्यमृषिमार्षेयं सुधातुदक्षिणम् । वाज. सं. VII-46

[3] एष वै ब्राह्मण ऋषिरार्षेय यः शुश्रुवान् । तै. सं. VI.6·1·4

In Vāj.S.XXI.61 Agni is addressed as follows: "Oh sage (ṛṣe) and ārṣeya (connected with or invoked by those who are sprung *from ṛṣis) and* grandson of sages, this sacrificer has to-day chosen thee from among many (gods) gathered together (with the idea that) 'this god (Agni) will bring to me choice wealth among the gods.'" In this case the close connection between illustrious sages and the invocation of Agni by them is prominently set forth.

In the Tai. S. the words ārṣeya and pravara are both brought together, are used as synonyms and in the same sense as the sūtras do. In Tai. S. II.5.8.7 which refers to the Sāmidhenī verses we read "he says 'choose ye the (fire) called *havyavāhana*'; he chooses him (the fire) of the gods; he chooses the ārṣeya; (in so doing) he does not depart from the relationship (by blood); and (doing so) serves for continuity. He chooses the later ones beginning from the remoter ones." In this passage 'ārṣeyam' appears to be used in the sense 'the one or more illustrious ancestors of the Yajamāna' and reference is made to one of the two modes of mentioning the pravara-ṛṣis. In one mode the remotest ancestor is named first in a *taddhita* form, then his descendant and so on, the ṛṣí nearest the *Yajamāna* being mentioned last (*e.g.*, the pravara of Bhṛgu is Bhārgava-cyāvanāpnavānaurva-Jāmadag-nyeti). This is done by the Hotṛ priest when he invokes fire with the pravara-mantra 'Agne mahān asi brāhmaṇa Bhārata deveddha manviddha ṛṣistuta, etc.' (*vide* Tai S.II.5.9 and Śatapatha I.4.2 for it). In the other mode the affix 'vat' is used after each pravara-ṛṣi and the remotest one is mentioned last (*e.g.*, Jamadagnivat, Ūrvavat, Apnavānavat, Cyavanavat, Bhṛguvat). When the *adhvaryu* chooses the hotṛ priest the former employs the second method of mentioning the pravaras. Tai. S. II.5.11.9 seems to refer to this second mode 'The man who knows thus and for whom they invoke his *pravara* (group of illustrious ancestors) prospers himself and his enemy is repulsed.'

In the Kauṣītaki-brāhmaṇa III.2 while speaking of the Sāmidhenī verses we have this passage 'Now that he *pronounces* the list of the ancestors of the sacrificer, that is because the gods do not partake of the offering of him *who has no list of* ancestors;

therefore he pronounces the *ārṣeya* of the sacrificer.'[1] In the Tāṇḍya-mahābrāhmaṇas (XX.15.9-11) it is said 'the method of its distribution (of the fee of one thousand cows) is as follows: to him who is himself learned and sprung from illustrious ṛṣis (ārṣeyaḥ) the gift should be made on the first day . . . . to him who is himself learned, but has no ārṣeya (who is not sprung from illustrious ṛṣis) the gift should be made on the 2nd day; . . to him who is not himself learned but who is sprung from (illustrious) ṛṣis the gift should be made on the third day.' In the Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa I.1.6.6 we are told 'four priests sprung from (illustrious) sages partake (of the ādityacaru).' This passage also occurs in Tai. Br. III.8.2. In another passage of the same Brāhmaṇa (I.4.4.2) it is said 'a brāhmaṇa who is ārṣeya should carry' (the fire on a piece of gold tied by *darbha* grass).

In one passage of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (VI. 14 or 28.6) the word pravara seems to be used in the sense of reference or address:[2] "some one asks 'is the Acchāvāka addressed (like other priests) or not?'. He should reply 'yes'." Here it is used on the analogy of the use of the word pravara in the sense of invocation. In the same Brāhmaṇa (VII. 25=34.7) we have an interesting question and answer. When a brāhmaṇa has been initiated (dīkṣita) for a sacrifice it was announced in these words 'a brāhmaṇa has been initiated for a sacrifice.' The question was asked 'how is the initiation of a Kṣatriya to be announced? (*i.e.*, should the word Kṣatriya be substituted for brāhmaṇa in the formula of announcement). The reply given by the Aitareya is that 'even in the case of the Kṣatriya also the announcement is to be in the same form (*viz.*, 'a brāhmaṇa has been initiated); but with the pravara of the family priest (purohita). This is (certainly) that; since he (the Kṣatriya sacrificer), having laid aside his own implements (warlike weapons) comes to the sacrifice with the weapons of the brāhmaṇa, in the form of the brāhmaṇa and having become a brāhmaṇa (for the time being), therefore they should proclaim his (Kṣatriya's) initiation (as a sacrificer) with the ārṣeya (pravara)

[1] अथ यद्यजमानस्यार्षेयमाह न ह वा अनार्षेयस्य देवा हविरश्नन्ति तस्मादस्यार्षेयमाह ॥ कौषीतकि ब्रा. III-2

[2] अथाऽस्त्यच्छावाकस्य प्रवरो न इति अस्तीति ब्रूयात् । ऐ. ब्रा. 28·6

of his family priest and should invoke Agni with the pravara of his family priest.' In the sūtras it is often said that Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas have no *pravaras of* their own, but in their case the pravara *of their* purohita was to be employed or simply 'Manuvat' or Mānavaila-paurūravaseti' (*vide* Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra, uttaraṣaṭka VI.15.4-5 and Baudhāyana-śrauta-sūtra, pravara-praśna 54). We see that the origin of this rule laid down in the sūtras is to be found in the *practice recorded in* the Aitareya. In the *same strain is* another passage of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (VII. 31=35.5) where it is said that the Kṣatriya sacrificer is not to drink soma but only the juice of the Nyagrodha tree 'He thus obtains the soma beverage in an indirect way, though he does not directly take in (drink) the soma,' for Nyagrodha is indeed the king soma indirectly (*as a substitute*). Though a kṣatriya he assumes indirectly the form of a brāhmaṇa by the dīkṣā (consecration ceremony performed on the sacrificer) through the family priest and by the pravara of the family priest (being employed).' As regards the Nivid Sūkta of the Niṣkevalya-śastra (*viz.*, Ṛg. VI. 18), the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (VIII.3.=36.3) remarks 'It is a hymn of Bharadvāja; the Bṛhat Sāman also is seen by Bharadvāja; and is of the same nature (*saloma*) on account of connection with the same sage (having seen both). The sacrifice of the Kṣatriya which has the Bṛhat for its Pṛṣṭha (*i.e.*, stotra) becomes successful.' Here ārṣeya seems to be used in the sense of being connected with the same (illustrious) sage.

In the Gopatha-brāhmaṇa (Uttarabhāga III.18) we are told that when dakṣiṇā (fee) is given to one who is learned and sprung from sages (ārṣeya), thereby he prospers in the world of the gods, but if fee be given to one not learned and not sprung from sages, he (the donor) prospers only in the world of men.' *Vide* also Gopatha (Purvārdha I.5 and 8) for a similar use of ārṣeya.

The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa (I.4.2.3-4) also has an interesting passage on ārṣeya "He now calls on (Agni as the ancestral hotṛ). He thereby introduces him both to the ṛṣis and to the gods (as if he were to say 'of great vigour is he who has obtained the sacrifice.' This is the reason why he calls on (Agni as) the ancestral (hotṛ). He calls from the farthest end (of the sacrificer's ancestral line) downwards; for it is from the remote end downwards that people

are propagated. He (the Hotṛ) also thereby propitiates the lord of seniority for him (the sacrificer), for here (among men) first comes the father, then the son and then the grandson ; this is the reason why he invokes from the farthest end downwards."[1] This shows that the three or five ancestors in whose name Agni was invoked were related by blood as father and son and not by apostolic succession.

We may briefly summarise the results as follows :—

The original meaning of the word pravara is 'choice' or 'invocation of Agni' and then it came to mean one or more illustrious *ṛṣi* ancestors of a man who had in former ages invoked fire to carry their offerings to the gods. Pravara according to the sūtras entered into sacrifices and was also closely connected with domestic matters, such as marriage, upanayana, caula. *Ārṣeya* is a synonym of pravara and occurs even in the Ṛgveda in the sense of 'status of a ṛṣi, or sprung from or descendant of a ṛṣi.' In the Ṛgveda Agni is frequently invoked by a sacrificer who says that he does so in the same way as great sages, like Jamadagni, Aurva, Bhṛgu or Apnavāna did. In the Ṛg itself names of pravaras such as Parāśara and Vasiṣṭha occur. In the Atharvaveda and the Vājasaneya Saṁhitā ārṣeya is used in the sense of 'one sprung from a famous sage.' In the Tai. S. ārṣeya and pravara are used in the same sense in which the sūtras employ them. The same sense occurs in the Tāṇḍya-mahābrāhmaṇa, the Gopatha, and in the Kauṣītaki-brāhmaṇa. The Aitareya contains interesting information about pravara ; it also says that for kings the pravaras of their purohitas were to be employed. If one may hazard a conjecture, it may be said that the gotra system was perfected first and the requirement as to pravaras in marriage was a further refinement. The treatment of gotra and pravara in the sūtra period is a very interesting and controvertial matter which must be reserved for a separate treatment.

[1] अथार्षेयं प्रवृणीते। ऋषिभ्यश्चैवैनमेतद्देवेभ्यश्च निवेदयत्ययं महावीर्यो यो यज्ञं प्रापदिति तस्मादार्षेयं प्रवृणीते। परस्तादर्वाक् प्रवृणीते परस्तादर्वाच्यः प्रजाः प्रजायन्ते ज्यायसस्पतय उ चैवैतं निह्नुते। इदं हि पितैवाग्रेऽथ पुत्रोऽथ पौत्रस्तस्मात्परस्तादर्वाक् प्रवृणीते। शतपथ ब्रा. I. 4·2·3—4

SVAYAMBHŪCCHANDAS BY SVAYAMBHŪ

By H. D. Velankar, M.A.

*Introduction.**

Svayambhū is an old writer on Prākṛta Metres. He is mentioned by Hemacandra and is also quoted by the commentator of the Kavidarpaṇa. My attention was naturally drawn to this and I casually discovered in my conversation with Pandit Lalchand of the Baroda Oriental Institute that an incomplete Ms. of the Svayambhūcchandas existed in the Institute's library. I at once got a copy of it prepared for me and was very delighted to find that the work was indeed an important one from the point of the history of Prākṛta poetry and Prākṛta Metrics.

2. The Ms. is without beginning, the first 22 folios being lost. It is dated Saṁvat 1727 and seems to be copied from an older Ms., which, however, is evidently misread in several places by our scribe. It is for this reason that some of the stanzas cannot be properly understood. Unfortunately no other Mss. of this very valuable work are at present available. My Jinaratnakośa knows of none. I must consequently remain content with what I have got at present. In the Ms., the work is not actually divided into chapters but the repeated occurrence of a stanza indicating the conclusion of a particular topic in it suggests its division into 8 chapters. The stanzas and the metrical definitions again are not numbered. In the following edition, I have numbered the chapters as well as the stanzas for the sake of convenient reference. Out of these eight chapters, I am publishing for the present, the first three only

* The following books and papers are alluded to in the Introduction :—Hemacandra, Chandonuśāsana, published by Devakaran Mulcand at N. S. Press, Bombay, 1912; Prākṛta Paiṅgalam, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1902; Virahāṅka, Vṛttajātisamuccaya, edited with Introduction and Notes in JBBRAS, *1929, 1932*; *Nanditāḍhya, Gāthālakṣaṇa, edited similarly in* Annals BORI, 1933; Apabhraṁśa Metres, published, with Ratnaśekhara's Chandaḥkośa in the Appendix, in B.U. Journal, Nov. 1933; Kavidarpaṇa with Com. and Introduction, published in the Annals, BORI, 1935. The last four are by H. D. Velankar.

which deal with the Akṣaravṛttas, treated wholly as Prākṛta metres by Svayambhū. I intend to publish the remaining chapters dealing with the Apabhraṁśa metres exclusively, in the appendix to my second article on the Apabhraṁśa metres in the Bombay University Journal. The following is a brief summary of the contents of the work.

3. In the available portion of the first chapter, Svayambhū defines and illustrates 63 metres under 13 different heads beginning with Śakvarī, *i.e.*, metres of four lines with 14 letters in each, and ending with Utkṛti, *i.e.*, metres of four lines, each containing 26 letters whether short or long. The portion which defined the metres containing from 1 to 13 letters in each of their four lines is lost as said above. Our author follows the old practice of defining and classifying the Akṣaravṛttas under 26 different heads, according as they contain from 1 to 26 letters in each of their four lines. Virahāṅka in his Vṛttajātisamuccaya and Hemcandra in his Chandonuśāsana follows this method for defining the Akṣaravṛttas which according to them are properly the Saṁskṛta metres and not the Prākṛta ones. They are very probably right as I have shown elsewhere in my article on Apabhraṁśa Metres, para 2. Our author, however, treats them as the Prākṛta metres and illustrates them from contemporaneous stray lyric poetry written in Prākṛta. I propose to discuss the nature of this poetry later on. Svayambhū's list of such metres is indeed incomplete. Like the Kavidarpaṇa, only about 100 such varieties, including those given in the lost portion of the Ms., are given by him while Hemacandra has defined 286 varieties exclusive of the Daṇḍakas. Virahāṅka gives still fewer, *i.e.*, 52 only.

4. The metres containing more than 26 letters in a line are called Daṇḍakas with the exception of Pipīḍikā and three others which are designated as the Śeṣa Vṛttas by Hemacandra, p. 17b, 1.7 and Kavidarpaṇa, IV. 103. Svayambhū treats them as the amplifications of the Bhujaṅgavijṛmbhita which is the last of the Utkṛti metres. Svayambhū's definition of a Daṇḍaka is identical with that of the Kavidarpaṇa, which means that the latter has reproduced from the former, and this is often done by writers on Prākṛta metres. In this connection Svayambhū gives the method of finding out the Saṁkhyā, *i.e.*, the total number of the possible

varieties of each of the above mentioned 26 varieties. Here also is found the curious stanza quoted by the commentator of the Kavidarpaṇa, and which first attracted my attention to Svayambhū's work; *cf.* JBBRAS. (new series), vol. 8, p. 2. The verse mentions in particular, a school of Saṁskṛta metricians represented by Māṇḍavya, Bharata, Kāśyapa and Saitava, according to whom no Yati in the middle of a line requires to be recognized in Saṁskṛta. As instances where Yati is not observed by well-known Saṁskṛta authors, Svayambhū quotes Śrīharṣa's famous introductory stanza, *i.e.*, *Śrīharṣo Nipuṇaḥ Kaviḥ*, etc., where the Yati after the 12th syllable is not observed in the first line and Mayūra's Sūryaśataka, v. 43, line 3, *i.e.*, *Tejorūpāparaiva*, etc., where also the Yati is not observed at the same place. Coming to the Daṇḍakas, Svayambhū defines and illustrates 19 in all. Kavidarpaṇa mentions only 11, while Hemacandra defines a few more than Svayambhū. Virahāṅka mentions none at all.

5. In the second chapter, the author defines the Ardhasama Vṛttas, *i.e.*, the metres of four lines, divided into two similar halves, containing lines of unequal length. They are 14 in all, *i.e.*, Vegavatī, Upacitrā, Calamadhyā, Hariṇapadā, Ketumatī, Ākhyānikā, Viparītākhyānikā, Aparavaktra, Puṣpitāgrā. Bhadravarāṭika, Yavavatī, Ṣaṭpadāvalī, Śikhā and Khañjā, Hemacandra mentions all these and 18 more, while Kavidarpaṇa mentions only 8. Calamadhyā and Hariṇapadā are respectively called Drutamadhyā and Hariṇoddhatā by both Hemacandra and Kavidarpaṇa. As regards the last two metres, namely Śikhā and Khañjā, they are peculiar metres made by a mixture of Gīti and Skandhaka. In Śikhā, the first and the third lines are equal to halves of a Gīti, while the second and the fourth are the halves of a Skandhaka. The reverse of this takes place in Khañjā. In both again, all letters are short except the last one. These two metres are defined in a different manner by Hemacandra, p. 21a/last line and p. 21b/1ff. But our author's definition is more practical. The substance of both is the same. According to the alternative definition given by Hemacandra, these same metres are Viṣama Vṛttas with two lines each. They are only half in length of the metres as defined above. As a matter of fact, they are the Gāthinī and Siṁhinī of Piṅgala, I. 70-72, where, however, there is no restric-

tion as regards the quantity of the letters used. Hemacandra also gives these varieties again under the Prākṛta metres on p. 29a, ll.9-12. On the other hand, Piṅgala's Śikhā and Khañjā are much different. The former is a Viṣamavṛtta (*cf.* I. 161) of two lines, the first containing 24 short letters followed by a Ragaṇa (SIS), the second containing 28 short letters followed by a Ragaṇa. The Khañjā, however, is a Samavṛtta of two lines, each having 36 short letters followed by a Ragaṇa. It is curious to note in this connection, that according to Hemacandra's information (p.23b/4-8), Piṅgala's Śikhā also is a Sama Vṛtta of two lines, each containing 32 Mātrās, but the first has all short and the second has all long letters in it.

6. In the third chapter, we get the Viṣama Vṛttas which contain four lines each of varying length. Thus Udgatā with its variants Saurabha and Lalita, Pracupita with its derivatives Vardhamāna, Śuddhavirāṭikā and Āvṛṣabha (this is not mentioned by Hemacandra), Śloka with its varieties like Vṛtta, Suvṛtta, Pathyā, Pathyāvṛtta and others, and lastly Padacaturūrdhva along with its derivatives like Pathyāpīḍa (Pratyāpīḍa-Hema.), Āpīḍa, Mañjarī (this is Hemacandra's Kalikā; according to him the name Mañjarī was given to this metre by Bharata), Lavalī and Amṛtadhārā are here defined and illustrated.

7. Hereafter in chapters IV-VIII, Svayambhū discusses a very large number of metres that are used in the Apabhraṁśa language. I shall discuss them in detail elsewhere; for the present, I shall merely enumerate them. Thus in chapter IV, Svayambhū defines and illustrates Utsāha, Dohā with its varieties, Mātrā of various kinds, Raḍḍā (the only strophic metre which our author defines), Vadana, Upavadana, Maḍilā, Aḍilā, Sundarī, Hṛdayinī (Hiāliā), Dhavala and Maṅgala. In chapter V, the 24 metres of 6 lines, divided into Jāti, Upajāti and Avajāti are merely enumerated with a few illustrations here and there (*cf.* Hemacandra, p. 38b/11 ff. and Kavidarpaṇa, commentary on II. 30-31, for these varieties). In the VIth chapter, the Catuṣpadī metres of 118 kinds (110 Ardhasama, 8 Sarvasama), and the 40 kinds of the Dvipadīs are defined with a few illustrations. Ten more Dvipadīs containing from 4 to 10 Mātrās in a line are defined without illustrations in the next, *i.e.*, the VIIth chapter, while the last, *i.e.*,

the VIIIth chapter contains the definitions and illustrations of Utthakka (Hema. p. 37b/2), Madanāvatāra (not mentioned by Hema. 33b/2 among the Apabhraṁśa metres probably for the sake of convenience), and Dhruvaka, as also the 7 Chaḍḍaṇikās which are of the nature of Ardhasama Catuṣpadī with the exception of the last which is a Ṣaṭpadī, and the three Ghattās which also are Catuṣpadīs, the first two of the Ardhasama type, and the last two of the Sarvasama type, and lastly the Paddhatikā and the Dvipadī. A few illustrations are given in some cases. For the contents of the two chapters, *i.e.*, VI and VII, *cf.* Hemacandra, pp. 39-46.

8. There are many things that appear unusual in this treatment of the Prākṛta metres by Svayambhū. *First of all,* (a) he does not make any distinction between the Akṣaragaṇa Vṛttas and the Mātrāgaṇa Vṛttas. Like Virahāṅka, Svayambhū too defines even the Saṁskṛta metres (*i.e.*, the Akṣaragaṇa Vṛttas which are generally used in Saṁskṛta, *cf.* Apabhraṁśa Metres, para 2) with the Mātrā Gaṇas. Both these authors do not mention the Akṣara Gaṇas in any part of their work, yet this does not mean that they were ignorant of them. They simply chose to ignore them (*cf.* JBBRAᶜ. 1932, p. 3). In his definitions of the various metres, Virahāṅka follows his own Paribhāṣā, which he describes fully at the beginning of his work. The author of the Kavidarpaṇa also has his own Paribhāṣā. Svayambhū on the other hand, has not followed any special Paribhāṣā, but uses such obvious terms for the Mātrā Gaṇas as DA or DAĀRA for a Dvimātra, TA, TAGAṆA TAĀRA, or TAṀSA for a Trimātra, CA, CAGAṆA, CAĀRA or CAṀSA for a Caturmātra, PA, PAGAṆA, PAĀRA or PAṀSA for a Pañcamātra, and CHA, CHAGAṆA, CHAĀRA or CHAṀSA for a Ṣaṇmātra. The different kinds of these Gaṇas are also similarly expressed by means of easily comprehensible terms. Thus 'paṭā puvvalā' (I. 17) means a Pagaṇa and a Tagaṇa, both with a short letter at the beginning. LA is a short letter and GA is a long one; 'cau paṁsā savvāisesantalā' (I. 31) means four Pañcamātras, having respectively all short, first short, last short, and last short letters in them; 'saalauralahū paruttaragā cha-pa-ca-ta-gaṇā' (I. 13) means a Ṣaṇmātra with all short letters (saalalahū), a Pañcamātra with a short letter in the middle (uralahū-udaralaghu), a Caturmātra with a long letter at the end

(paraga), and a Trimātra with a long letter at the end (uttaraga). The only technical terms which he uses are those for a short and a long letter as also for the various numerals. VAKRA is a long letter represented by the sign S and AVAKRA, ṚJU, or ŪRDHVA, (only once at I. 116) means a short letter represented by the sign I. These were, however, very common terms used also by Virahāṅka and Piṅgala; *cf.* VJS. I. 14 and the note and also Piṅgala, I. 21. Thus, 'vaṅkāvaṇkoahiparimiā' (I. 71) means long and short letters measured by Udadhi, *i.e.*, four in number and (occurring in succession); 'vaṅkāvaṅkā maaragharārasā' (I. 87) means long and short letters (coming in succession) and resp. 4 and 6 in number (maarahara=samudra=4; rasa=6); 'vaṅkāvaṅkesū' (I. 91) means long and short letters (coming in succession), and five in number each; 'majjhajjū doppā' (I. 93) means two Pañcamātras with a short letter in the middle (madhya-ṛju=SIS). Also *cf.* I. 98, 116, 133; III. 1,7, 26 for similar expressions. (b) Another strange thing about Svayambhū is that not only does he treat the ordinary Saṁskṛta metres as the Prākṛta ones, regarding them as the Mātrā Vṛttas and defining them as such, but he totally neglects the proper Prākṛta metres discussed at great length by Hemacandra in his Chandonuśāsana, p. 28b and the following, and by Virahāṅka in his Vṛttajātisammuccaya, *Chs.* III-IV. Many of these Prākṛta metres are pure Mātrā Vṛttas (*cf.* 'Apabhraṁśa Metres, para 13), while some are mixed Mātrā and Varṇa Vṛttas (*cf. ibid*, para 16). In the Vṛttajātisammuccaya, there are indeed a few, which must be strictly speaking regarded as the Varṇa Vṛttas; *cf. E.g.*, III. 7, 8, 20, 21, 32-34, 50, 51, 52, IV. 19, 22, 53-55, 57, 58 61, 64, 72, 76, 77, etc. But these are obviously those Varṇa Vṛttas, which the Prākṛta poets of his days had made their own and treated for all practical purposes as the Mātrā Vṛttas or the Prākṛta metres and hence Virahāṅka defines them with Mātrā Gaṇas. (c) It is also noteworthy that among the Apabhraṁśa metres, which Svayambhū discusses, he does not give any prominence to couplets and triplets, which as seen elsewhere, are a prominent feature of Apabhraṁśa poetry in particular, though they are also found in Prākṛta; *cf.* Apabhraṁśa Metres, para 27, The only strophic metre which Svayambhū defines is Raḍḍā (IV. 25). (d) But the important and interesting peculiarity of

Svayambhū is the illustrations which he gives for the different Sānskṛta-Prākṛta metres from a very large number of Prākṛta poets whose names also he gives. He quotes 206 stanzas in this manner; out of these, 128 are illustrations of the Sanskṛta-Prākṛta metres, while the rest are those of the Apabhraṁśa metres. The name of the poet is regularly given in the former case, while in the latter, 58 are without the name of the author. Almost all the illustrations of the Prākṛta metres are stray lyric stanzas and do not seem to be taken from any longer poems. Svayambhū indeed does not mention any *poems* by name, though I. 34, and I. 49 appear to belong to some poem, the former on a theme from the Rāmāyaṇa and the latter on that of the famous Amṛtamanthana episode (see also I. 96; 146). Most of these are love lyrics, and contain fine specimens of 'village poetry' abounding in unconventional and fresh descriptions of animate and inanimate nature usually connected with village life, though of course, there are a few, which are composed in imitation of Saṁskṛta Court poetry, with conventional and uninteresting details. About twenty also contain the ANTYA YAMAKA which is such an important characteristic of Prākṛta poetry (*cf.* VJS. IV. 106), particularly of Apabhraṁśa and Vernacular poetry; *cf.* I. 2, 14, 16, 20, 26, 30, 34, 42, 46, 48, 49, 62, 68, 78, 80, 115, 120, 124, 130, etc. With the exception of a few, all these stanzas clearly bear the stamp of being composed by real Prākṛta poets and not by the Saṁskṛta poets attempting to write Prākṛta poetry. There does not exist in them that fondness for compounds, for example, or for the grandiloquence which so often mars the charm of the otherwise beautiful stanzas of the Setubandha. The names of the poets also shew that they belonged to the ordinary masses and were not members of the higher circle of the Pandits. They are almost all non-Jaina, at least there is nothing in the quoted instances to shew that they are Jaina.

9. The following is a complete list, alphabetically arranged, of the authors quoted by Svayambhū :—1 Aṅgavai, I. 152, 153; Aṅgāragaṇa, I. 7, 12, 13, 28, 53, 66, 92, 99, 149, 150, 151, 163, 165, II. 2, 20, 30, 31, III. 30; Ajarāmara, II. 4; Ajjadeva, IV. 13; Abbhua, III. 2; Isahala (Viṣadhara), III. 4; Ubbhaḍa, I. 68, III. 8; Kalāṇurāa, II. 22, III. 6; Kāliāsa, II. 18; Kumāraatta,

I. 130 ; Kumāra Somma, I. 122; Kohanta, I. 24 ; Guṇahara, I. 44, 46; Goinda, IV. 17, 19, 21, 23, 24, 26; Caummuha, IV. 2, VI. 71, 83, 86, 112 ; Candaṇa, I. 70, 146 ; Candarāa, III. 20 ; Chailla, III. 15, 22, IV. 15, 30 ; Jaṇamaṇāṇanda, I. 94; Jiṇaāsa, IV. 28 ; Jīvadeva, I. 88, 90 ; Johaa, I. 175; Ṇāgaha, I. 33; Ṇiuṇa, I. 48, 72; Tiloaṇa, I. 136 ; Duggasatti, II. 24 ; Duggasīha, II. 8, 10 ; Dhaṇadeva, IV. 11 ; Dhutta, IV. 6 ; Pañcamaṇāha, I. 16, 57 ; Bahma, I. 4 ; Bahmaatta, I. 82 ; Maūra, I. 144b ; Maūradeva, I. 22, 156 ; Māurdeva, IV. 9 ; Mūladeva, I. 124, 126 ; Rajjautta, I. 157 ; Ravivappa, III. 10; Rāhā, I. 120; Lalaa, III. 27, 28 ; Lalahasahāva, I. 62, III. 25 ; Laliasahāva, II. 14, III. 13 ; Loṇua, II. 6, 12 ; Viaḍḍha, III. 17, IV. 31 ; Vijjā, I. 6 ; Vimalaeva, I. 117 ; Veāla, I. 177 ; Veraṇāa, I. 84, 86, 107, 109 ; Velāṇāa, I. 139 ; Sīlaṇihī, I. 96, 118 ; Suddhakai, I. 78 ; Suddharāa, I. 61 ; Suddhasahāva, I. 9, 10, 18, 20, 26, 30, 32, 36, 38, 51, 55, 74, 101, 115, 132, 134, 138, 159, 161, 171, 173, II. 16, 26, 27, III. 19, 31, 32; Suddhasīla, I. 49, 59, 64, 80, 103, 104, 111, 113, 128, 137, 147, 148, 167, 169, III. 12, IV. 18 ; Suhaḍarāa, III. 18 ; Haraatta, I. 76 ; Haradāsa, I. 42 ; Hāla, I. 97.

10. Out of these 58 authors, as many as 48 are quoted for the Prākṛta metres and 10 only for the Apabhraṁśa ones. All except four or five are new. None except perhaps the doubtful Aṅgavai=Aṅgarāa and Hāla, are found in Weber's list given on p. LVII of the German edition of Saptaśatakam of Hāla. Most of them have only one or two examples to their credit, though Aṅgāragaṇa, Suddhasahāva, and Suddhasīla have resp. 18, 27 and 16. A few of the names appear even suspicious. Thus Veraṇāa and Velāṇāa may be identical and the same may be true of Maūra, Maūradeva, and perhaps Māuradeva on the one hand and of Bahma and Bahmaatta on the other. Similarly the five names Sīlaṇihī, Suddhakaī, Suddharāa, Suddhasahāva and Suddhasīla are too similar to be the names of different persons. Some of these, along with the names Kalāṇurāa, Jaṇamaṇāṇanda and perhaps Veāla are significant nicknames. It is again curious to note that two among these poets are women, Rāhā and Vijjā. The many stanzas ascribed to Aṅgāragaṇa, Suddhasahāva and Suddhasīla are all in different metres and mutually disconnected. This might suggest that these stanzas were composed with a definite

purpose, *i.e.*, that of illustrating the different Prākṛta metres, which means that these authors had themselves composed treatises on Prākṛta metres and composed their own illustrations like Hemacandra. At first sight, the theory looks improbable but when we remember that at one time there did exist several works on Prākṛta metres, as is shown by me at 'Apabhraṁśa Metres,' paras 30-31, it need not be discarded at once as impossible. The names that are familiar in the above list are only those of Udbhaṭa, Kālidāsa, Viṣadhara (Piṅgala) and Hāla. None of the stanzas ascribed to these poets, however, is traceable in their published works. On the other hand, the stanzas quoted in the names of Kālidāsa and Hāla are very interesting. All stanzas at present known to have been composed by Hāla are in the Gāthā metre, while the one quoted by Svayambhū is in the Śārdūlavikrīḍita. From what work of Hāla then does Svayambhū quote this verse? The quotation from Kālidāsa is still more puzzling. The only Prākṛta stanzas which are ascribed by tradition to Kālidāsa are those that occur in the IVth act of the Vikramorvaśīyam. Looking to the context of our stanza, it seems to fit in very well at that place, but is not actually found there or anywhere else in the printed editions of the work. Usually these stanzas in the Vikramorvaśīya are believed not to be written by Kālidāsa; but if our stanza is proved to belong to the Vikramorvaśīya, its ascription to Kālidāsa by Svayambhū who is at any rate earlier than 1000 A.D. must lend great support to the theory that Kālidāsa himself composed these stanzas. The stanza is beautiful and would be quite appropriate in the mouth of the unfortunate king. It describes how the Palāśa tree growing on the banks of a river, was as it were offering libations of water to his deceased comrades in the forest, with his hand in the form of a single leaf of a low branch repeatedly touching the waters of the river on account of a gentle breeze of wind.

11. Among the ten poets quoted for the Apabhraṁśa metres, Govinda and Caturmukha are very important. Six stanzas from the former and five from the latter are quoted by Svayambhū. All the stanzas of each are obviously drawn from the same work: those of Govinda from a work written in the Apabhraṁśa language on the story of Harivaṁśa or perhaps the early life of Śrīkṛṣṇa,

and those of Caturmukha from a similar work on the life of Śrīrāma. In the Apabhraṁśa portion of Svayambhū's work (chapters IV-VIII), there are seven more stanzas on the story of the Harivaṁśa (VI. 45, 58, 98, 102, 152, VIII. 2, 9) and nine more on the story of the Rāmāyaṇa (VI. 42, 65, 68, 74, 90, 155, VIII. 21, 25, 27). These 7 and 9 stanzas, though very similar to the 6 and 5 stanzas of Govinda and Caturmukha in point of style, are nevertheless not accompanied by the names of their authors; yet it is very probable that all the 13 stanzas on the story of Harivaṁśa were composed by Govinda and similarly all the 14 stanzas on the story of Rāmāyaṇa were written by Caturmukha. Further if this inference is correct—and there is nothing which is likely to prove the contrary—we might gather one or two facts about these two Apabhraṁśa poets. Firstly, we would be able to say that Caturmukha at least was a Jaina, because one of the unnamed stanzas (VI. 27) from the Apabhraṁśa Rāmāyaṇa is clearly based on the Jaina version of the Rāmāyaṇa story. But perhaps both may have been Jaina, since Apabhraṁśa poetry was primarily developed and nursed by the Jaina laymen, as is proved by me in paras. 14-18 of my introduction to the Gāthālakṣaṇa of Nanditāḍhya (cf. Annals, BORI. 1932, vol. XIV, p. 11ff.). Secondly, the fact that no two stanzas among these 13 or 14 are composed in the same metre is not without significance. It is not impossible that both these poets composed their works primarily with the intention of illustrating the various metres in the Apabhraṁśa language. This is particularly evident since Govinda's work on the Harivaṁśa contains illustrations of almost all the varieties of the Mātrā metre, occurring in the same context of the narrative, one after the other (cf. IV. 17, 19, 21, 23, 24, 26).

12. The work is called Svayambhūcchandas after its author. In the stanza repeated at the end of every chapter, it is described as Pañcāṁśasārabhūta, Bahulārtha and Lakṣyalakṣaṇaviśuddha. Aṁśa means a Gaṇa, usually a Mātrāgaṇa. The word is used in this sense by old as well as new writers on Prākṛta metres; cf. Virahāṅka, I. 15, 18, 20, etc., Nanditāḍhya, vv. 7, 9, 12, etc., Ratnaśekhera, Chandaḥkośa, vv. 52-54. The five Aṁśas or the Mātrāgaṇas which are generally used in defining Mātrāvṛttas are those that contain resp. 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 Mātrās in them. They are

called *da, ta, ch, pa, ṣa* by Hemacandra and *ka, ca, ṭa, ta*, and *pa* by Kavidarpaṇa. Svayambhū's work is intended to be 'the essence of (metres) based on these five Mātrā Gaṇas,' and also to give the definitions with illustrations of these essential metres. Svayambhū is an old writer. He is mentioned, (*i.e.*, I. 106), as a respectable author along with Bharata and Piṅgala by Hemacandra, at Chandonuśāsana, p. 14a/16. The opinion that there exist two different schools with regard to the Yati (*i.e.*, caesura) in the middle of a line of the Saṁskṛta metres seems to have been expressed first by Svayambhū. The school which disregards this Yati is according to him, represented by Māṇḍavya, Bharata, Kāśyapa and Saitava. All these are ancient writers and are often mentioned by Virahāṅka and Hemacandra. This studied disregard of Yati does not seem to have greatly impressed the people and seems to have been given up in course of time. We would probably not have known it, if Svayambhū had not recorded it. This verse from Svayambhū (I. 144) is quoted by the commentator of the Kavidarpaṇa on I. 8. Svayambhū IV. 36 again seems to have been reproduced by the same commentator without mentioning his name on Kavidarpaṇa, II. 32. Svayambhū I. 140 is also borrowed at Kavidarpaṇa, IV. 103. At present I do not know of any other references to either Svayambhū or his work in older works on Metre ; cf. however, Annals, BORI., vol. XIV. p. 2.

13. Svayambhū was very probably a Jaina monk. The last few stanzas of the work warrant such a conclusion. Besides, in illustrating the Daṇḍaka called Kāmabāṇa, he merely quotes the beginning of a stanza in that metre composed by one Vetāla, who obviously was a Jaina writer. The verse in question contains the praise of Mahāvīra and when Svayambhū quotes merely the beginning of it, he means that the verse was very well-known and therefore did not require to be quoted in full. Had Svayambhū been a Hindu writer he would probably not have done so, since a Hindu poet is not expected to either consider or mean that a stanza of Jaina devotional poetry was well-known. In another place, Svayambhū indeed quotes in a similar manner a stanza (144C) from Mayūra's Sūryaśataka, but this is perfectly natural and must not lead us to suppose that he was therefore a Hindu ! Because, as described by me in para. 14 of my introduction to the Gāthālakṣaṇa,

(cf. Annals, BORI., vol. XIV, p. 11), the Jainas were necessarily compelled to study the important Kāvyas and Nāṭakas of the Hindus for getting a good knowledge of the Sānskṛta language. To a Jaina Pandit, therefore, these Kāvyas and Nāṭakas were as well-known as they were to a Hindu Pandit; but the latter was not expected to be so very well acquainted with the devotional literature of the Jainas. Thirdly, it must be remembered that the Apabhraṁśa literature appears to have been mainly developed by the Jainas, and the Svayambhūcchandas which assigns such a prominent place to the Apabhraṁśa metres must ordinarily have been composed by a Jaina. At least no Hindu author has yet been known who has either written Apabhraṁśa poetry, or has contributed in any significant manner to its development.

14. Svayambhū must have lived in the 10th century of the Christian era, at the earliest. The manner in which he is quoted by Hemacandra shows that he was separated from the latter at least by a century or so. But we cannot push him too far back and consider him as having lived a few years after the two well-known poets of the 7th century, *i.e.*, Srīharṣa and Mayūra, both of whom are quoted by Svayambhū at I. 144a, 144b. The developed state of the Apabhraṁśa literature which is reflected in his treatment of the Apabhraṁśa metres clearly shows that Svayambhū cannot be assigned to such an early date.

श्री स्वयंम्भूच्छन्दः।

परन्तगा सअलमुहाइपुव्वला। हुवन्ति ते किर **रुइरा** तआरआ ॥ १ ॥

रुइरा तस्सेअ —

सुसामिए णिवलिअए अभग्गिआ। समोत्तिआ गअमअतिम्मिअङ्गिआ ॥
मिलन्तछप्पअरवमुक्ककण्ठआ। धराअले रुअइव खग्गलट्ठिआ ॥ २ ॥

चउचा परेारणिहणेारगा गुरू। जइ संहुवन्ति चरणेसु **णन्दिणी** ॥ ३ ॥

णन्दिणी वम्हस्स—

किसि(मि)णो ससी ण स दिवा विराजए
किमणंगओध(व्व ?)णदुमस्स कोसुमं।
इअ संसआणुवगअस्स मे मई
तइ दिट्ठए ण लहए विणिच्चअम् ॥ ४ ॥

अइजअई सम्मत्ता । सक्करी वोत्तव्वा ।

छन्दे **वसन्ततिलए** चउचा सपंसा । सव्वन्तरन्तपरगा मुहलावसेसा ॥ ५ ॥

वसन्ततिलअं विजाए—(दिवाअरस्स—note)

उद्दण्डकोअणदकोमलकोसकन्ती
कन्ताकुचग्गहणकंटइअप्पकोट्ठो ।
मित्तद्दिआइरिउचारुविलासिणीणं
सम्माणदाणभअभोअकरो करो दे ॥ ६ ॥

अहवा अङ्गारगणस्स—

कण्णुप्पलं घुसिणतित्तकवोललोलं
वालाइ दुद्धधवलच्छिपहाविहिण्णम् ।
पावेइ णीलमणिमोत्तिअपम्मराअ—
चित्तस्स पिच्छमिव कामसरस्स सोहम् ॥ ७ ॥

दो दोण्हि मज्झे णिहणसअल्ला पंसा ।
एसासंबाहा सअलगुरुछआराणं ॥ ८ ॥

असंबाहा सुद्धसहावस्स—

अव्वो वालाए विसमरअसमत्ताए
अन्दोलन्तेणं पिहुलचलणितंवेणम् ।
माहो कामङ्गं हरह सुरअभंडारं
कंचीपालंवो धरइव कणिरो दारम् ॥ ९ ॥

अवरं च तस्सेअ—

पेच्छन्ताए णिव्भरसुरअसमत्ताए
लोलुद्धा पाआ विडकडिअडमारूढा ।
णम्हेहिं दिण्णं वहुजणभिव सण्णन्ते
हाहाहो मुद्धं उअ गहवइसव्वस्सं ॥ १० ॥

लहुतगणजुअं दोण्हि पा लावसाणा
तह गुरुजुअलं जीअ **णन्दीमुही** सा ॥ ११ ।

णन्दीमुही अङ्गारगणस्स—

पसरइ पुलओ सेदबिन्दू गलन्ति
फुरइ अहरओ जंपणं जाइ हासं ।
थरहरइ मणो णिच्चला ठाइ दिट्ठी
इअ विविहरसा होन्ति दिट्ठे पिअम्मि ॥ १२ ॥

सअलउरलहूपरुत्तरगात्तरा
छपचतगणआ इमा **अपराइआ** ॥ १३ ॥

अपराइआ तस्सेअ—
करमुहकमले भुआगलणालए
णअणकुवलए पओहरहंसए ।
अलअअलिउले णिअंबजलोहए
रमइ पिअअमो सरेव्व कलत्तए ॥ १४ ॥

परगुरुदुमुणी **पहरणकलिआ** ॥ १५ ॥

पहरणकलिआ पंचमणाहस्स—
पिअ घणसमए परिहर गमणं
सुर-सरि-पुलिणम्मिव रम रमणं ।
खणमवि विरहं ण सहइ हिअअं
पअणुतणअले जलमिव ठिअअम् ॥ १६ ॥

लहुगुरुछज्जुअं तत्ता पता पुव्वला
करिमअरभुआ छन्दे पलत्ता इमा ॥ १७ ॥

करिमअरभुआ सुद्धसहावस्स—
रिउलहिरजले माअंगगाहाकुले
हअधअविहए छत्तोहफेणुज्जले ।
णरसिरकमले खग्गावलीमीणए
रमइ रणसरे हंसोव्व णाहो महम् ॥ १८ ॥

रविलहुपरगुरुजुअ**मुवचित्तम्** ॥ १९ ॥

उवचित्तं सुद्धसहावस्स—
अवडिअणइअडविअडकुडुङ्गं
अलअणविडभडकडि गलिअङ्गम् ।
सरहसरअरसवसपुसिओसं
जरणमिवरवसहसइमतोसं ॥ २० ॥

लच्छी पंचग्गहेणा जेहिं पूरन्ति ते ला ॥ २१ ॥

लच्छी मऊरदेअस्स—
विरिथिण्णाआसरंगे सूरदावग्गिडङ्के
संझाजालाफुलिंगे तारआछारपुंजे ।

दुक्खं विज्झाअमाणे कालकीलामसिले
पेच्छ ध्दुम्माअमाणं केत्तकोलित्तखण्डम् ॥ २२ ॥

दिण्णचं तेहरव्वं ला पूरणे **जोण्हिआ** ॥ २३ ॥

जोण्हिआ कोहन्तस्स—
आसासाहासुसोहं संझापहापल्लवं
तारापब्भारफुल्लं थोरक्कपिक्कं फलं ।
अह्लीणेणङ्कपक्खिं धन्तालिथोओज्झिअं
एअं पेच्छाहि कन्ते आआसकप्पद्दुमम् ॥ २४ ॥

गच्छो पा लोअरा दो चता परगा **जआ** ॥ २५ ॥

जआ सुद्धसहावस्स—
राहाए तारहारे थणे पडिबिंबिअं
कण्ठं बालाइ दट्ठुं वलोत्ति पलज्जिअम् ।
णाउं रिट्ठारिणावि ण्पिआ इअ मुद्धिआ
गाढं घेत्तूण कण्ठे उणो अवगूहिआ ॥ २६ ॥

सक्करी सम्मत्ता ॥ १४ ॥ अइसक्करी वोत्तव्वा ॥

लहुगुरुछ्जुआओ पुव्वला दोण्णि पंसा
जणमणहरपाआ **मालिणी** एरिसी सा ॥ २७ ॥

मालिणी अंगारगणस्स—
धवलमिअ कवोलं चच्चिअं चंदणेणं
कअमिव अवअंसं केअईपल्लवेणं ।
गअमिव सवणंतं दन्तताल्ंकमेक्कं
उअ ससहरबिम्बं वासवासावहूए ॥ २८ ॥

सअलमुहल पा दो; दुचा उरगा; गुरु
सुकइजणपलत्ता इमा **उवमालिणी** ॥ २९ ॥

उवमालिणी तस्सेअ—
सुहअ पांसअ माणं पुणो ण कुणन्तिआ
तुह चलणपणामं गआवि ण रत्तिआ ।
ण लहइ तणुअंगी मणंपि सुहच्छिअं
अणुणअ पिअपासं पसण्णमुहच्छिअम् ॥ ३० ॥

जइ उण चउपंसा सव्वाइसेसंतला ।
गुरुणिहणंमिणं तं **चंदुज्जुअं** भण्णए ॥ ३१ ॥

चंदुज्जुअं सुद्धसहावस्स—

अहिणवससिलेहा संझाअवाअंबिआ
सहइ कसणमेहे विज्जुप्पहाभासुरे ।
उअ पसरिअजीहे कालस्स काले मुहे
जअकवलविलुद्धा दाढव्व रत्तोल्लिआ ॥ ३२ ॥

सत्तता लहुत्तरा गुरुं च जत्थ **तोलअम्** ॥ ३३ ॥

तोलअं णागहस्स—

एत्थअन्तरम्मि वेअमुक्कवाणजालअं
वारिऊरपूरि उण्णमन्तमेहकालअम् ।
जुज्झमज्झतक्खणुग्गउग्गरोसपुण्णअं
धाइअं पवङ्गमाण रक्खसेन्दसेण्णअम् ॥ ३४ ॥

दसचउलहुपरगुरु अ **ससिअला** ॥ ३५ ॥

ससिअला सुद्धसहावस्स—

फुडिअकमलकुवलअसरणिअरा
परिमलमिलिअभमिअभमरउला ।
ससहरकिरणधवलधरणिअला
कमिह ण हरइ सरअदिणकमला ॥ ३६ ॥

वसुसिरिकअजइ **मणिगुणणिअरो** ॥ ३७ ॥

मणिगुणणिअरो सुद्धसीलस्स—

घणरसणमुहलचलरमणअलं
समपहरमिलिअकलमणिअरवम् ।
समसलिलणिवहविअलिअतिलअं
उअ हरइ तरुणिवरविसमरअम् ॥ ३८ ॥

विज्जूमालाहिंतो दोण्णा लोअरा गं च **चित्ता** ॥ ३९ ॥

चित्ता तस्सेअ—

णट्ठो जेठ्ठो दिठ्ठा मेहा विज्जुपुञ्जा सचावो
धारासारत्थोरत्थम्भरिथिप्पिरं अन्तरिक्खम् ।

रण्णे रण्णे मोरा सद्दाअन्ति हा हन्त एण्हि
अत्ता पत्ते वासारत्ते पंथिआ मा मरन्तु ॥ ४० ॥
अइसक्करी सम्मत्ता ॥ १५ ॥ अट्ठी वोत्तव्वा ।

लहूगुरू णिरन्तरा जहिं स **पंचचामरो** ॥ ४१ ॥

(पंच) चामरो हरदासस्स—

घणोहवारिथोरथंबतिन्तणिन्तगन्धआ
समुग्गमन्तमन्दमन्दकन्दलंकुरिल्लआ ।
सिलिंधगंधलुद्धमुद्धछप्पअंधआरिआ
जणेइ दुःखआइं पंथिआण रण्णभूमिआ ॥ ४२ ॥

अट्ठता लहुत्तरा जहिं स **चित्तसोह** एस ॥ ४३ ॥

चित्तसोहा गुणहरस्स—

दुण्णिवारवारणेन्दतिक्खखग्गछिण्णएहिं
मुक्कहक्कणीसरन्तबाणधारतिण्णएहिं ।
वीरतुंडमुंडखंडटङ्कछिण्णदुग्गमेहिं
एरिसेवि आहवे स वीरओ विलासमेइ ॥ ४४ ॥

सत्तता लहुत्तरा गुरुद्दअं च **चित्त**मेअम् ॥ ४५ ॥

चित्तं तस्सेअ—

सक्कचाववंकभावभूलआभअङ्कराइं
गच्छमाणराअहंसदीहपन्तिदन्तुराइं ।
विप्फुरन्तविज्जुलाललाविअग्गजीहआइं
पंथिआण धाविआइं पाउसब्भरक्खसाइं ॥ ४६ ॥

अन्तमुहाइसव्वसअलसअललहुणो ।
छत्तगणा गुरुं च **गअवरविलसिअअम्** ॥ ४७ ॥

गअवरविलसिअअं णिउणस्स—

हा महुमासबंधु विअसिअकमलसर
दिण्णससङ्कमित्तसुहइरकरपसर ।
कत्थ गओसि गिम्ह जलहररवमुहलं
थंबथिरंसुएहिं रुअइव गअणअलम् ॥ ४८ ॥

अहवा सुद्धसलिलस्स—

मन्दरदिण्णघाअतलभिडिअसलिलअं
पाअडपोम्मराअमणिकिरणरुहिरअम् ।
तक्खणदिट्ठसत्तठिअसिढिलफुरणअं
दीसइ दोद्दलंविअ मअरहराहिअअम् ॥ ४९ ॥

दो छा दोण्णा सअलमुहगा पुव्वाइलगुरू ।
एक्कं गन्तं **मअणललिअं** छन्दम्मि पअए ॥ ५० ॥

मअणललिअं सुद्धसहावस्स—

दोलालोलं सणिअसणिअं माअन्दगहणे
अन्दोलन्ति तरुणिविडअं णाहङ्कपडिअम् ।
कामुच्छङ्गे रइमिव ठिअं दट्ठूण पहिओ
मुच्छं पत्तो णिअअघरिणीक्कीडं सुमरिउं ॥ ५१ ॥

भणइ सअललहुअ**मचलदिहि**मिह ॥ ५२ ॥

अचलदिही अक्खारगणस्स—

विज्जुलिअचिउरमहरअलकअवण—
मविरलपुलअभरिअथणजुअमवि ।
रइरससणिअमणिअमुहलिअमिह
सहइ सुरअमविरअमइ सहि तुह ॥ ५३ ॥
अट्ठी सम्मत्ता ॥ १६ ॥ अइअट्ठी वोत्तव्वा ॥

उरन्तउअरन्तवंकचगणा पता पुव्वला ।
हुवन्ति चलणेसु जीअ **पुहवी** इमा पाअए ॥ ५४ ॥

पुहवी सुद्धसहावस्स—

विउद्धकरपङ्कआ मुहमिअङ्कजोण्हुज्जलो
विणिद्दणअणुप्पला अलअघोलिरिन्दिन्दिरा ।
पओहररहङ्गिआ गहिरणाहिरुन्दद्दहा
सरिव्व सरउब्भवा कमलगोरिआ सोहए ॥ ५५ ॥

पछा दोण्णा चंसो मुहलतिगुरू सव्वअरला ।
गआरन्तो सेसो हुवइ चलणे सा **सिहरिणी** ॥ ५६ ॥

सिहरिणी पंछमणाहस्स—

वरं लद्धो बन्धो सअलगुणमन्ते बुहगणे
वरं दीहं कालं गिरिगहणमज्झे णिवसिअम् ।
वरं दुट्ठेणासीविसविसहरेणावि रमिअं
ण संजाअं रज्जं पिसुणपरिवारेण सहिअम् ॥ ५७ ॥

मन्दक्कन्ता तिमुहगुरुछा पुव्वलं पत्तअं च ॥ ५८ ॥

मन्दक्कन्ता सुद्धसीलस्स—

हारालग्गं भसलमुहलं हारिपुण्णाअदामं
केसासत्तं सरसमउअं मालिअं मालईए ।
कण्णासत्तं णवदलजुआलङ्किएक्कं कलंब
मेहालोए मरणहिअआ देइ दुप्पंथिअज्झा ॥ ५९ ॥

दो च्छेइल्ला उरलपगणा जिस्सा इमा **हारिणी** ॥ ६० ॥

हारिणी सुद्धराअस्स—

ठेरं चंदं तरुणतरणिं दट्ठूण पुव्वण्हए
बुद्धं लद्धावसरमिव तं हासं गअं पङ्कअम् ।
दोसग्गाही असअलअलो खत्थो खंइ खामओ
वंको मित्तोवरि सइ ठिओ जो तस्स कत्तो सिरी ॥ ६१ ॥

वंसअलम्मि सव्वतिअला चउकलणिहणा
अन्तमुहाइसव्वपरसव्वलहुअपरगा ॥ ६१ ॥

वंसअलं ललहसहावस्स—

दाहिणमारुएण परिहट्टसुरहितरुणा
माहवमासअम्मि हसिअव्व सअलतरुणा ।
तुम्ह मई च एत्थ पणिअं णिसुणउ मलओ
घेप्पइ अण्ह(म्ह ?) कस्स सुहओच्चिअ परिमलओ ॥ ६२ ॥

कोविअ **वंसवत्तललिअं**ति पभणइ इमम् ॥ ६३ ॥

वंसवत्तं सुद्धसीलस्स—

भूरि तलाअवारि विमलं कुवलअपउरं
पोम्मपलावसन्तिरुइरं विअगणमणिअम् ।

णेच्छइ चाअओ कअदिही सुरवइविहिअं
चुंबइ वंसवत्तवडिअं जललवमवि सो ॥ ६४ ॥

पगुणपगणा दोच्च वंका पुव्वला पा अ **पोम्मम्** ॥ ६५ ॥

पोम्मं अङ्गारगणस्स—

विसमसुरए केसामेडो घोलिरो मन्दमन्दं
सहइ समअं उत्थंघेणं थोरहारेण रम्मो ।
उअह तरुणा मा हो कोसं बालिआए णिअम्बं
कसणधवलो मज्झे दिण्णो वम्महेणं पडो व्व ॥ ६६ ॥

उरलपगणा दो छेइल्ला तं चेअ सा **रोहिणी** ॥ ६७ ॥

रोहिणी उब्भडस्स—

फडहिगहणं दूरे छत्तं रण्णं करंजाउलं
सरआदिअहो पिक्का साली वाईजलं सीअलम् ।
वसइ स पिओ तस्सि एक्को अत्तावि तत्तो सअं
उअह विगआ भत्तं घेत्तुं सुए पलोइं घअम् ॥ ६८ ॥

हरिणिचरणे पंसो छंसो तिअद्ध(अंच?) चआरआ ॥
सअललगुरू सव्वोरब्भन्तरालगुरूगुरू ॥ ६९ ॥

हरिणी चन्दणस्स—

मलअपवणो चंदालोओ वसन्तसमागमो
परहुअरवो वीणुग्गारो रसो जरडच्छुणो ।
ण तह मिलिआ एदे सव्वे जणान्ति मइं दिहिं
सुरअसमए ओल्लालावो जहा सहि वल्लहो ॥ ७० ॥

भावक्कन्ता विसमजगणा पआरगणुत्तरा ।
वंकावंकोअहिपरिमिआ उराइगुरूरला ॥ ७१ ॥

भावक्कन्ता णिउणस्स—

चंदो वंको कलुसहिअओ रवी करचण्डओ
पारावारो पअइजलही सिही सविणीअओ ।
सक्को सक्को विसमणअणो हरो सगओ हरी
णाहो मज्झं उण णिरुवमो अणेअगुणालओ ॥ ७२ ॥

अइअट्ठी सम्मत्ता ॥ १७ ॥ दिट्ठी वोत्तव्वा ॥
मन्दक्कन्ता छलहुअजठरा जत्थ सा **चित्तलेहा** ॥ ७३ ॥

चित्तलेहा सुद्धसहावस्स—

थोआतंवा अहिअतणुइआ वीअचंदस्स लेहा
लग्गा णिघ्दे सरअघणथणे वंकवंका विहाइ ।
रण्णं (न्तुं?) सेच्छं गअणतलिमए दिव्वसंझावहूए
वच्चंतेणाहिमकरवइणा णक्खखत्तिव्व दिण्णा ॥ ७४ ॥

छलहुछगुरुआ दोप्पा जिस्सा पुव्वला **चन्दमाला** ॥ ७५ ॥

चन्दमाला हरअत्तस्स—

उअ भमलउलं चत्तुज्जाणं वच्चमाणं कहिंपि
किर कमलमिणं वालापाए भोलिमाए णिलीणम् ।
कलमुहलरवं तं से सोउं एक्कदव्वाहिलासं
णिवसह णिलए मा हो अम्हं णेउरं कूजिअंव ॥ ७६ ॥

दोण्णि लहू हुवन्ति जइ गअवरविलासिअए
छत्तगणन्तअम्मि भणइ तमिह **भमरवअम्** ॥ ७७ ॥

भमरवअं सुद्धकइस्स (णिउणस्स—foot-note)—

मेहकआहिसेअजलपसमिअरअणिअरा
णच्चिरचच्चरीअरवसुहलिअकुसुअसरा ।
उग्गअचन्दबिंबकरधवलिअसअलदिसा
कस्स दिहिं ण देइ भण मणहरसरअणिसा ॥ ७८ ॥

छो चत्तारि चउक्कला पणिहणा सव्वन्तउरगा ।
अन्तासेसविरामगा अ तमिणं **सद्दूलललिअम्** ॥ ७९ ॥

सद्दूलललिअं सुद्धसीलस्स—

बाला वालमिअङ्कवंकभुमआ दीहच्छिजुअला
रत्तासोअणवल्लपल्लवपआ विम्बाहरदला ।
लोआणन्दिरफुन्दचन्दमुहिआ माल्लूरथणिआ
सव्वाणंचिआ संघडन्ति ण विणा पुण्णेहिं धणिआ ॥ ८० ॥

सव्वासेसाई पफरउरगा चआरगणा इमे ।
तम्सि मज्झन्ते पगण; गुरुणो भणन्ति **कुरङ्गिअम्** ॥ ८१ ॥

कुरङ्गिअं वम्हअत्तस्स—

संगामारंभे सुहडवहुले सुराणवि दारुणे
विच्छिण्णं सीसं अरिहअरिणा किणाविअ राइणा ।
सीसक्कक्कन्तं भमइ गअणे अधोवरि संठिअं
मिप्पिंडावत्थं गअमिव खणं कुलालपभामिअम् ॥ ८२ ॥

जइ हरिणिमुहे एक्को अण्णो लहू **ललिअं** इमम् ॥ ८३ ॥
ललिअं वेरणाअस्स—

पहअसलिलए धारासारे णहंगणखग्गए
पसरिअणिविले वासारत्ते घणेहिं कलंकिए ।
सरआदिणसिरीलोहारीए सअत्थिअधोइए
उअ रविपडिमासाणच्छित्ते फुरन्ति किरच्चिणो ॥ ८४ ॥

जइ हरिणिआमज्झिल्लो छेओ इमो **हरिणिपअम्** ॥ ८५ ॥
हरिणिपअं तस्सेअ—

'तणुइतणुई दूरं जाआ कीस'?; 'एस सहावओ'
'सुमुहि मलिणा दीणाआरा किं'?; 'सआ घरकम्मअम्'
'भरसि अहवा अम्हाणं किं'?; मुक्कमणु णिरुत्तरा
णवर पइणा आलिंगेउं गेहिणी परिउंविआ ॥ ८६ ॥

वंकावंका मअरहररसा गमजज्झदु**चाचलम्** ॥ ८७ ॥
अचलं जीवदेअस्स—

'सव्वा भूमी णरसिरभरिआ सलोहिअकद्दमा
मग्गो सुण्णो हरिहरपमुहा सुरावि समागआ ।
कत्तो गच्छं' अमुणिअणिलअं भणन्तमिवाउलं
कंठच्छिण्णं भमइ भडसिरं णहच्चि(म्मि?)अ केवलम् ॥ ८८ ॥

रुद्दाहिन्तो परलहुपजुअं एक्को गुरू **केसरम्** ॥ ८९ ॥
केसरं तस्सेअ—

णो दट्ठव्वं परमणसहिअं दुट्ठक्कुराणं मुहं
णो सोअव्वं खलजणरअणं वज्जासणीसण्णिहं ।
णो वोत्तव्वं किवणजणवदे देहित्ति दीणक्खरं
साहिप्पाअं णड इव समरे उद्धं कवन्धं ठिअम् ॥ ९० ॥

वंकाविंकसू परलपजुअं दो गआरावसाणं
णिद्दिट्ठा एसा **कुसुमिअलआवेल्लिआ** छन्दअम्मि ॥ ९१ ॥

कुसुमिअलआवेल्लिआ अङ्गारगणस्स—

दट्ठुं सालत्तं चरणजुअलं सत्थरे पन्थिअस्स
अव्वो किं एअं णवरगलिअं कङ्कणं वन्दणङ्कम् ।
अज्जं ऊडाए उअह चरिअं माउआए वहूए
अम्हाणं जट्ठा भणिअ सणिअं वन्दिअं पंसुलीए ॥ ९२ ॥

इसुरसलगा जज्झज्जू दोप्पा गं च **सणङ्गलेहा** ॥ ९३ ॥

अणङ्गलेहा जणमणाणन्दस्स—

कणअमइआ अम्हेक्काजाइ वद्धिमा एत्थ अम्हं
कमलमउअं कत्तो संपत्तं कुण्डलं गण्डदेसम् ।
उअह अहअं पाएणालिद्धं णिव्विसेसा हआसा
कहइव जणे सोएणाउण्णं णेउरं ओरसन्तम् ॥ ९४ ॥

दिट्ठी संमत्ता ॥ १८ ॥ अइदिट्ठी वोत्तव्वा ॥

छो चा तिण्णि दुपा दआराणिहणा सव्वन्तमज्झन्तगा
लन्तो लन्त गुरू जहिं च तामिणं **सद्दूलविक्कीडिअम्** ॥ ९५ ॥

सद्दूलविक्कीडिअं सीलणिहिस्स—

किं सेअद्दिसिरं जआ दससिरं हन्तुं गओ राहओ
आणीअं कइणा पअण्डगइणा सेउस्स केणम्पि हु ।
चिन्तन्ते च सआ णहंगणगआ दट्ठूण जं खेचरा
कत्तो सामलए गिरिम्मि मलए सिंगं ससंकुज्जलम् ॥ ९६ ॥

अहवा हालस्स—

कामं पुप्फधणुं सकोसुमसरं तुण्णं तिअच्छाहअं
सोउं जं जुवईजणो ण कुविओ तं अत्थि से कारणम् ।
हेलासज्झजअं समत्तणिणमोपाअन्तरालीकअं
केसाकेसिणिवन्धणाचिअजअं एत्थम्ह को मल्लओ ॥ ९७ ॥

वंकज्जू वाणा मुहतिपगणा (?) जत्थ तं **पुप्फदामम्** ॥ ९८ ॥

पुप्फदामं अङ्गारगणस्स—

झंकारोलीणं परहुअविरुअं; सुन्दरा सिन्दुवारा
पुण्णाआसोआ; विअसिअकमला हंसमोहा सरोहा ।
कामेणेआइं गहिअमहिअलोलम्भिआ सा मअच्छी
उम्नाहो डाहो हुवइ अणसणं तेण तिस्सा विओए ॥ ९९ ॥

से सूराहिन्तो परलहुपजुअं गं **चन्दविम्बं** इमम् ॥ १०० ॥

चन्दविम्बं सुद्धसहावस्स—

संझाराइल्लं गहगणसबलं थोउग्गिअं जोण्हिअं
गाढं ओढेउं इआविहरुइरं कोसुंभिअं वण्णिअम् ।
ठेरं विच्छाआ लहसिअजरअं रोलारिउं भक्तं
दठ्ठव्वा भव्वा उअह णहसिरी सोमं सिआ सीअलम् ॥ १०१ ॥

रसा दो **रम्भाए** मुहलपरगा दोण्णि पा लोअरा गम् ॥ १०२ ॥

रम्भा सुद्धसीलस्स—

णिम्माचंदालोए विरहविहुरो सोअसंभन्तचित्तो
फुडं णिद्दामोए ण लहुण रइं चक्कओ पोम्मसण्डे ।
खणं अप्पच्छाआघडिअसलिले मज्जिउम्मिल्लमाणो
गओ तीरातीरं करुणमुहलो जाअजाआविओओ ॥ १०३ ॥

इमच्चेअ **च्छाआ** जइ रसजुआ पा दोण्णि लन्ता गुरू ॥ १०४ ॥

छाआ तस्सेअ—

हला दिट्ठा डिट्ठा विगअकुसुमा णिण्णेहमूला हआ
इमा मुक्कामोआ अलअजरढा संजाअसेअप्फला ।
वलामोडिज्जन्ती तहवि महुणा मासेण सव्वङ्गिअं
कहं बुद्धासाढं गलिअमअणं जेठ्ठं गआ कोहली ॥ १०५ ॥

इहाइच्चाहिन्तो उरगचजुअं गुरू **मअरन्दिआ** ॥ १०६ ॥

मअरन्दिआ वेरणाअस्स—

पिए रेवातीरे भरसि रमिअं मणोहरकाणणे
गए वासारत्ते सरअसमए सअन्दपओसए ।
कअं गासब्दंसे किसलअदलं मुहाहि मुहं तुहं
ठिअं चित्ते कन्तं इअ सुमरिउं करी परिमुच्छिओ ॥ १०७ ॥

अइदिही सम्मत्ता ॥ १९ ॥ कई वोत्तव्वा ॥

रसास्सा **सोहाए** मुहलपरगुरू दोण्णि पा लोअरा गम् ॥ १०८ ॥
सोहा तस्सेअ—

इमं जम्माउव्वं पिअअम ण मए सिक्खिअं कोणुवन्धो
तुमं एक्कग्गाही सुहअ ण मुणिमो कुप्प मा जप्पमाणो ।
अलं सव्वङ्गेसु पआलिअपुलआ चुंबिरी दीहरच्छी
गआ णाहीहुत्तं कलमणिअरवा लिङ्गदिण्णग्गहत्था १०९ ॥

गद्दी पद्दी अ दोग्गा मुहसअलपारन्तला **चित्तमाला** ॥ ११० ॥
चित्तमाला सुद्धसीलस्स—

एण्हिं एत्थम्ह गामे सुलहवसही दुक्करं पंथिआणं
एक्को देइ णिवासे तरुणपहिओ संपइच्चेअ सुत्तो ।
कन्तं चित्ते ठवेउं घणघणरवे तेण तं कंपि गीअं
कट्ठुं दट्ठूण जेणं करुणाहिअओ होइ लोओ असेसो ॥ १११ ॥

दोच्चा चत्तारि पंसा सअलसअलगा पुव्वंगमुहला ।
सेसंसे णावराई जइ गुरुसहिओ एसा **सुवअणा** ॥ ११२ ॥
सुवअणा तस्सेअ—

पारावारो अमेओ खअवअराहिओ मज्झा अ वसही
णिच्चं पूरिज्जमाणो जइवि परिमिअं से तंचिअ जलम् ।
रेवावाहो समुद्दं भरइ सविसअं विंझं च सअलं
आजम्मन्तं वहन्ता अखलिअपसरा दीसन्ति विरला ॥ ११३ ॥

कई सम्मत्ता ॥ २० ॥ पअई वोत्तव्वा ॥

सअलमुहाइसव्वणिहणाइलहू णिहणन्तपारगा ।
णवातिअला तहिं च किर सत्तमचेण भणन्ति **सिद्धिअम** ॥ ११४ ॥
सिद्धी सुद्धसहावस्स—

विअसिअकुन्दसन्दमअरन्दाणिरन्तरकासहासआ
कमलमिलन्तलोलभसलावलिरुद्धणहन्तरालआ ।
पुलिणभमन्तचन्दकिरणाहअहंसविइण्णसोहआ
सरआणिसा हरन्ति भण कंव ण पंथिअसत्थमोहआ ॥ ११५ ॥

दोच्चा वंक्का; मुहंगप्पढमसुहपुराउद्ध पा **सद्दराए** ॥ ११६ ॥

सद्धरा विमलएवस्स—

भद्दं जुत्तप्पमाणं कसणघणणिहं दाणउब्भिण्णगण्डं
चण्डं उद्दण्डसुंडं सुरहिमअजलोसित्तपाअप्पदेसम् ।
मत्तं भिंगोपगीअं रविअरताविअं कण्णतालोपवीअं
एअं पेच्छाहि कन्ते कमलिणिणिलअं वच्चमाणं गइंदम् ॥ ११७ ॥

अहवा सीलणाहस्स—

जत्तो पेसेइ दिट्ठिं सरसकुवलआपीडरूअं सरूआ
मुद्धा इद्धं सलीलं सवणविलसिरं दन्तकन्तीसणाहम् ।
तत्तो कोअण्डमुट्ठी णिहिअवरसरो गाढमाबद्धलक्खो
दूरं आणाविहेओ पसरइ मअणो पुव्वमारूढवक्खो ॥ ११८ ॥

पअई समत्ता ॥ २१ ॥ आअई वोत्तव्वा ।

सत्तचआरगणाइगुरू गवरा जइ सा भणिआ **मद्दरा** ॥ ११९ ॥

मद्दरा राहाए—

मत्तकरिन्दकवोलमओज्झरपङ्कपसाहणसामलिआ
दाहिणमारुअमेलविआ मअभेम्भलिआ भसलावलिआ ।
केअइकेसरधूसलिआ पसरन्तमणोहरणीसणिआ
घोलइ कामिअणोवरि णज्जइ वम्महमुक्कसरासणिआ ॥ १२० ॥

छो उरलो उरन्तउरअन्तमज्झपरगा जहिं च चगणा ।
एरिसलक्खणेण रइआ हुवन्ति किर **मद्दअस्स** चरणा ॥ १२१ ॥

मद्दअं कुमारसोम्मस्स—

जं वडवाणलेण सगअं अणाइणिहणं णिबद्धवइरं
जं मअलंछणेण सुहसंगमेण सहिअं ठिअं च सुइरं ।
जं च विसं हरस्स अमअं सुराण रअणाअरेण विहिअं
तं अविणीअआण अकुलीणआण गरुआण देन्ति(अ) दिहिं ॥ १२२ ॥

आअई समत्ता ॥ २२ ॥ विअई वोत्तव्वा ॥

जइ उण मद्दअस्स छगणोवसाणगुरुओ तमस्स **ललिअम्** ॥ १२३ ॥

ललिअं मूलदेवस्स—

उअह इमं पउत्थवइआइ सन्दणवचन्दणद्दधवलं
करणिमिअं विसण्णवअणं तहिंपि तरलामलच्छिजुअलम् ।

णहु अरुणुप्पलम्मि कमलं कआवि कमलम्मि णीलजलअं
इअ परिच्चितिऊण विगअं कहिंपि ण ठिअं चलालिवलअम् ॥ १२४ ॥

मत्ताकीला विज्जूमालाउवरि हुवइ जइ मणिगुणणिअरो ॥ १२५ ॥
मत्ताकीला तस्सेअ—

बद्धा दोला दिट्ठा चूआ महुअरपलविरपरहुअबहला
उद्दामा पुण्णाआमोआ मअमुइअमलिअमहुलिहमुहला ।
फुल्ला रत्तासोआरामा तह विउलजल(ज)कमलसरा (?)
अत्ता पत्तो दुक्खं देन्तो विरहिजणमरणमिव महुसमओ ॥ १२६ ॥

विकई समत्ता ॥ २३ ॥ संकई वोत्तव्वा ॥

अट्ठचआरा मुहसअलगुरू सव्वलहू परमुहमुहगा अ ॥
सव्वलहू सव्वगुरुअरइअं लक्खणअं इणमिह **तणुईए** ॥ १२७ ॥
तणुई सुद्धसीलस्स—

जाअइ भङ्गो अह पडइ तहिं जत्थ जणो कुणइ ण परिसंगं
अक्खविओ ओविसणइ अ फुडं होज्ज वसे विहिअफलविहंगो ।
पेच्छह बाणो गुणघडिअतणू तिम्मगओ तहवि सहइ एअं
किंव ण वंके उवलहइ णरो दुक्खसहो पभइ रिउसहाओ ॥ १२८ ॥

संकई समत्ता ॥ २४ ॥ अइकई वोत्तव्वा ॥

कोंचवआ सा रूववईए जइ उवरि हुवइ मणिगुणणिअरो ॥ १२९ ॥
कोंचवआ कुमारअत्तस्स—

कामसरोघाअक्खणसीलो गअवइजुवइ(?)जणमणहरणो
मन्थरसंचारं वहमाणो पिअमिलिअमिहुणजणदिहिजणणो ।
सीअलभावासासिअसन्तो भसलमुहलजणमणहरववणो ।
वाअइ पच्चूसम्मि वसन्ते मलअगिरिगुरुहिपरिमलपवणो ॥ १३० ॥

अइकई समत्ता ॥ २५ ॥ उक्कई वोत्तव्वा ॥

अन्ताइत्तिगविरइअमविरलचउलहुअमुवह **अववाहं** तम् ॥ १३१ ॥
अववाहं सुद्धसहावस्स—

फुल्लेलावणपसरिअपरिमलपरिपिहिअसअलभुअणाभोओ
माअन्दुग्गअसुमणसकुवलअवणकमलपसारिअरआमोदो ।

अच्चन्तं पिअपरहुअमहुअरमहुरअररइअरवसंगीओ
अव्वो कस्सव ण हरइ मणहर मलअगिरिसुरहिसिहरुद्देसो ॥ १३२ ॥

गेभा लासा पो मज्झज्जू परगुरुचतगणणिहणं **भुअङ्गविअंभिअम्** ॥१३३॥

भुअङ्गविअंभिअं तस्सेअ—

कामुक्कोआआआ वाआ मलअगिरिसुरहिदुमदिण्णगंधमणोहरा
सन्दच्छाआ जाआ चूआ कलअलिअवहलकलकोइला लवणुब्भडा ।
पोम्मावासा हंसुग्गीआ परिमलिअभसलपरिउंबिआ कमलाअरा
एसो पत्तो माराअन्तो विरहिअणहिअअपरिसोसओ महुमासओ ॥ १३४ ॥

उक्कई समत्ता ॥ २६ ॥

एत्थ लहुअहिअलहुणो चत्तारि **पिपीडिकाइ**; णव **करह** ।
होन्ति चउद्दह **पणवे; मालाविच्चे** तओ पञ्च ॥ १३५ ॥

सा पिपीडिआ तिलोअणस्स—

अव्वो गिम्हे उण्हा वाआ दिवसअरकिरणवणदवभरिआ जलन्ति दिसामुहा
वासारत्ते दूसंचारा णवजलअजणिअजलवहलपहा णिरन्तरकद्दमा ।
हेमन्ते ओसद्दीभावा घणतुहिणपवणपडिपहअदुमा ण देन्ति पवेसअम् ।
णाहाहो कत्तो दे जत्ता अणुहवसु सुहअ सइ सुरअसुहं रसाअणसण्णिहम् ॥१३६॥

करहो सुद्धसीलस्स—

खामा साभा सासुक्कम्पा मुहकसणकढिणपरिमालिअघुसिणमसिण-
थणजुअलं भुआहि णिरुंभिउं ।
कामाअत्ता पेमुम्मत्ता चलरमणकणिररवमुहलरसणिआविहूसणिआ इमा ॥
घोलावेन्ती केसामेलं वरसुरहिकुसुमरअमिलिअभसलमुहलिआ
विसंठुलगत्तिआ ।
तुज्झं मुद्धा मग्गा लग्गा समसलिलकलिअकरधरिअसिढिलरसणिआ
जणेण पहासिआ ॥ १३७ ॥

पणवो सुद्धसहावस्स—

सन्दो रुन्दो कुन्दच्छाओ सरअघणतुहिणकमलवणकुमुअहरहसिअसिअतणू
ससङ्ककरुज्जलो ।
तारो पारावारप्पारो धवलिअजलथलगअणजणसअमुअगअलवरि-
सप्पसाहिअदिम्मुहो ॥

लोआलोअच्छेअं गन्तुं दढकढिणविअडकलअलघट्टणपडिवडणवलइओ
णरेन्द तुहं जसो ।
उत्तुङ्गो सेअप्पाआरो उअ हरइ परमतिहुअणतिरिमणहरविरइअ-
रइमन्दिरस्सव संठिओ ॥ १३८ ॥

मालावित्तं वेलाणाअस्स—

अव्वो दूरं दूसंचारो खरअरसिसिरभरिआगिरिगहणगरुअणइणिवह-
असुहगइवहो समीरणदारुणो ॥
एसो माहो मासो एण्हिं पिअअम वस णिवसणकमलरइअ-
थिरमउअतालिमसुहसअणए सुरालअसण्णिहे ।
गङ्गावत्ताहिन्तो रम्मं सिअविहअसमअगअमसिणमअरहर-
पुलिणसअलजलमणहरं मुणीणवि दुल्लहं ।
सोक्खागारं मोक्खद्दारं रम सुहअ हिमअरअहिमहरिणमअ-
घुसिणघणसुरहिपरिमलं णिअम्वअलं महम् ॥ १३९ ॥

छव्वीसक्खरअहिअं जं दीसइ किंपि रूवअं दीहम् ।
तं दण्डअंति भण्णइ पिपीडिआइं पमोत्तूण ॥ १४० ॥

छव्वीसपन्तिआओ पढमगुरुलहुअणिरन्तरा तत्थ ।
तद्दुगुणा सेसाओ परसरिसा पुव्विआ होई ॥ १४१ ॥

उत्तस्स दोण्णि भेआ अइउत्तस्स अ हुवन्ति चत्तारि ।
एअं दूणं णेअं जावच्छव्वीसपेरन्तम् ॥ १४२ ॥

सव्वीसा सत्तसआ तह सत्तारहसहस्ससंखाओ ।
वाआलीसं लक्खं तेरहकोडीउ सव्वाओ ॥ (१३४२१७२६) ॥ १४३ ॥

जअदेअपिङ्गला सक्कअम्मि दोच्चिअ जइं समिच्छन्ति ।
मंडव्व भरहकासवसेवल(यव)पमुहा ण इच्छन्ति ॥ १४४ ॥

जहा—श्रीहर्षो निपुणः कविरित्यादि ॥ १४४a ॥

जहा मऊरस्स—तेजोरूपापरैवेत्यादि ॥ १४४b ॥

लहुतअणजुअं परा लोअरा पा इमो दण्डओ; सत्तहिं **चण्डवुट्ठी** परेक्केक्कवुड्ढीअ
अण्णण्णवव्वालजीमूअलीलाअरुद्दामसंखुत्तरा ॥ १४५ ॥

चण्डवुट्ठी चन्दणस्स—

णवरिअ समरं पहाअम्मि पारंभिअं तूरपूरन्तभेरीदरीभासुरम् ।
मअरहरतरङ्गसंघाअसंकासधुव्वन्तसेअद्धअच्छत्तमाआउलम् ।
अणवरअविमुक्कएक्कक्कमाहुत्तपज्जत्तणाराअचक्कादिणाणाउहम् ।
मअमुइअकरिन्दकुम्भत्थलारूढपाइक्कतिक्खासिघेप्पन्तमोत्ताहलम् ॥ १४६ ॥

अण्णो मुद्धसीलस्स—

विहलिअघणरोहसोहन्तगामोहपच्चन्तसालीफलालुद्धकीलावलीकीलिरे ।
मणहरणवणीलवोसट्टकन्दाढरुंभन्तफुल्लंधधूलीरअन्धारिए ॥
कलमकणभमन्तकेआरअच्चन्तवुक्कारगोवीकलुग्गीअमुच्छिज्जमाणुज्जुए ।
इअ पिअ सरअम्मि मा वच्च मोत्तूण मं पेच्छ अण्णेवि एए
विसण्णा पहे पंथिआ ॥ १४७ ॥

अण्णवो तस्सेअ—

पसरिअखरमारुअन्दोलिआसत्थझिज्जन्तपत्तोहसद्दालवाआरि-
पूरिज्जमाणंबरे ।
दिणअरकरतत्ततत्तोल्लचिक्खिल्लखुल्लोलन्तकोलालिदाढुक्खअ-
क्खोणिमुत्थाकसाइल्लए ॥
घणवणदवदाहडज्झन्तवरवभ (?) छल्लुब्भडोरल्लिसन्तत्थणासन्तमाअङ्ग-
जूहाउले ।
पिअअम इअ एरिसे गिम्हआलंमि मा वच्च माणेसु थोरत्थ(णा-)
लिङ्गणुद्दामसोक्खाइँ मे ॥ १४८ ॥

वालो अङ्गारगणस्स—

विअसिअसिअसिन्दुवारद्दुमुद्दारमाअन्दमन्दुद्दलिज्जन्तगोन्दीर-
उद्दामवोमङ्गणे ।
फुलिअवउलचम्पआसोअपुण्णाअए भुत्तआमोअमत्तालिमाला-
कलुत्तालवाआलकोलाहले ॥
अहिणववरविद्दुमाअंवउब्भिण्णपालासफुल्लोहदिप्पन्तकन्तार-
वेपन्तवोलन्तपाराअए ।
पिअअम इअ एरिसे दारुणे दुण्णिवारे वसन्तम्मि वच्चन्ति मोत्तूण जे
कन्तिअं ताण कत्तो सुहम् ॥ १४९ ॥

जीमूओ तस्सेअ—

हरगलगरलालिणीलुप्पलुच्छाअगज्जन्तकुम्भीरधाराहर-
द्धन्तचामीअराआरविज्जुज्जले ।

मरगअमणिभित्तिसंलग्गसोवण्णपट्टप्पहापूरिए पुप्फचावस्स
गेहेव्व अच्चन्तगज्जन्तढक्कारवे ॥
विरइअवरपोम्मराइन्दणीलुद्धवेदूरखंभच्छिअं तोरणं वासअं सक्कचावं
णेहं पेच्छिउं पन्थिओ ।
ण चलइ मणअंपि हा सामलच्छी पिआ तुङ्गथोरत्थणी दुक्करं जीवए दट्ठु-
मेअं णवं पाउसं मुच्छिओ ॥ १५० ॥

लीलाअरो तस्सेअ—

पिअअम विरहे तुमे त्तीअ इन्दीवरच्छीअ कन्तं सुहावेइ णो चंदणं णो
जलद्दा सुरुद्दावि चन्दस्स णो चन्दिआ ।
ण अ परिमलपूरपूरन्तकप्पूरपारीरओ णेअ वीणा ण वेणुज्झणी णेअ
कामस्स बाणोव्व जो पंचमो पंचमो ॥
ण लहइ पिअ णिद्दिअं पोम्मिणीपत्तादिज्जन्तसेज्जासु णो अंगणुज्जाणए
णेअ पालेअसीअंमि केलीहरब्भन्तरे ।
इअ बहुगुणरम्मरामागणे काम कामेसु गन्तूण तं कन्तिअं जाव सूसन्ति
णो सामलंगीअ अंगाइं सोअग्गिणा ॥ १५१ ॥

उद्दामो अंगदइस्स—

पहसमहिमडङ्गदेहो दढंकोणुलग्गो कुणन्तो तणेणत्थए सत्थरे थोरकन्तच्छिओ
णेइ अज्जाहरे जामिणिं पंथिओ ।
णवरिअ अवरेण थित्ती णिरुद्धावलावेमहं दंडअं लंघमामाकरङ्कं इमं
फोडमामुट्ठिअं ढोवाणिं पूरमाभंजरे ॥
असहिअवअणेण अण्णेण मा भाणिओ डक्कुडङ्काहिचावो णदप्पेण दिण्णो
तुहं एअमेक्कक्कमं पम्हि ढिक्काहिं जागुन्दलम्
णिसुणिअकलहं व तं तत्थ गामिल्लआ मिल्लिउं देन्ति तालोदअं केवि
वोक्काईआअन्ति वग्गन्ति अण्णे अ अप्फोडमाणा तहिं ॥ १५२ ॥

संखोवि तस्सेअ—

पणमिअसुरासिध्दगंधव्वजक्खेाहचूडामणिप्फंसादिप्पन्तपाआरविन्दं
कुलीणक्खसंकन्ततेल्लोक्कीरन्तवेदन्तथुत्तीसअम् ॥
परिमिलिअविणिल्लालणेत्तग्गणिन्तग्गिडज्झन्तकामङ्गणिम्मु-
कलक्कदेवासुरद्दामहाराइअक्कीरमाणप्पलावाउलम् ।
सुबहलरुहिरोहखिप्पन्तदुप्पेच्छलंवन्तदुग्घोट्टचम्मंबराबद्धभोइन्दकंचीविमुंचन्त-
फुट्टन्तजालावलीभीसणम् ।
इअ पणमह गोरिरुद्धद्धदेहं जरावज्जिअं जण्हवीतोआसित्तुत्तमंगं
जडाजूडसोहन्तचन्दद्धखण्डं सअंभुं सिवं संकरम् ॥ १५३ ॥

इअ चंडवुट्ठिपमुहा संखन्ता दण्डआ इमे अट्ठ ।
जे उण उत्तरपमुहा ते मालादण्डआ सेसा ॥ १५४ ॥

विसमलहुणो पआरा परा लोअरा जत्थ इच्छाइ वज्झन्ति सो
दण्डओ **चन्दवालो**त्ति णामेण णिद्दिट्ठओ ॥ १५५ ॥

सो चन्दवालो मऊरदेवस्स—

कहिमि कलहोअमाणिक्कसिप्पीविहत्थेण संकुट्टिओ वेठ्ठविन्देण आलिन्दओ ।
कहिमि सिरिखण्डकप्पूरकत्थूरिआकुंकुमुप्पण्णपंकेण एक्कक्कमोआहओ ॥
कहिमि अहिसेअसिंगंबुधाराणिराअप्पवाहेण दूराहि एक्कक्कसो सिञ्चिओ ।
कहिमि णडकन्तपप्फारवन्देहिं सोहग्गसूराइणामावलीसेसमुच्चारिआ ॥१५६॥

अवरो रज्जउत्तस्स—

कहिमि चलिअं चलन्तेण अण्णेउरं थोरमुत्तावलीहारकेऊरकंचीकलावेहिं
गुप्पंतअम् ।
बहलसिरिखण्डकप्पूरकत्थूरिआकुङ्कुमुप्पीलकालाअसुम्मीसाचिक्खिलपन्थेसु
खुपन्तअम् ॥
धवलधअतोरणच्छत्तचिण्हप्पडाआवलीमण्डलब्भन्तवालिन्दणीलंधआरे
विसूरन्तअम् ।
मुहलचलणेउरुग्घाअझंकारवाहित्तहंसोहमग्गाणुलग्गन्तछक्कन्त-
हेलागईणिग्गमम् ॥ १५७ ॥

जइ लहुअपआरापरा पुव्वला जं जहिच्छाइ बज्झन्ति सो दण्डओ
सीहविक्कन्तणामो ॥ १५८ ॥

सीहविक्कन्तो सुद्धसहावस्स—

उअ सरअणिसाए रमन्तो समं वाल्गोवीहिं राहाइ कण्हो करे
पुंजिअं धूलिपुंजम् ।
ललिअउअहहत्थेण पच्छाइऊण च्छिवत्ताइं णीओ सअं जाव
संकेअकेलीपएसम् ॥
विहलिअकररोहोपलो एइ जात्ता पुरो पुण्णिमाअन्दगेन्दी-
णवेन्दीवरच्छी किसङ्गी ।
विहसिअ सविलासं पुणो तीअ सो गाढमालिंगिओ साअरं चुम्बिओ
णिब्भरं रामिओ अ ॥ १५९ ॥

लहुगुरुअछआरा दो परा पुव्वला पा जहिच्छाइ वज्झन्ति सो दण्डओ
मेहमालाहिहाणो ॥ १६० ॥

मेहमाला तस्सेअ—

ण रमइ दलसन्दे सुन्दरे सिन्दुवारे ण रुन्दारविन्दे ण माअन्दमन्दारएसुं ।
ण लिअइ वउलग्गे णो अ आणंगगोरे पिअंगुद्धगोच्छे ण पुण्णाअणाओहएसुं ॥
ण पिअइ मअरन्दं कामभल्लिव्व णो फुल्लिअं मल्लिअं णो असोअं ससोआउलंगो ।
कह णडइ पिउच्छाच्छप्पओ पेच्छ कच्छे भरन्तो पिअं मालइं
सा वसन्तम्मि कत्तो ॥ १६१ ॥

सअलहुअछआराहि पा पुव्वला जत्थ इच्छाइ बज्झन्ति सो दण्डओ
चण्डवेआहिहाणो ॥ १६२ ॥

चण्डवेओ अङ्गारगणस्स—

सलिलवहणणिमित्तं गआ जाव संकेअए सत्थरं पच्छिऊणं
जुआणं च धट्ठं च कामाइआए ॥
कइअवघडिएणं कडीए कुडं पाडिऊणाबिअं हासमीसं रुअन्ती
अ भग्गा कडीउल्लआसे ॥
पुणरवि अहिअरोसाव्व रेसाअ मारेइ अत्तत्ति तो उत्तसन्ती गओ देव्व
जेणम्हि सन्ताविआहम् ॥
इअ वहुविहपआरं सवन्ती विढं पंसुली लक्खिऊणं सहीए हला
एहि वच्चाम गेहंत्ति णीआ ॥ १६३ ॥

सव्वपा लोअरा जत्थ इच्छाइ बज्झन्ति सो दण्डओ
मत्तमाअङ्गलालीअरो ॥ १६४ ॥

मत्तमाअङ्गलीलाअरो तस्सेअ—

रत्तभोसित्तपेरन्तलुद्धन्धगिद्धुक्खअन्तच्छवीहच्छणच्चन्तभूओहए ।
मुक्कभल्लुअवोक्कारवुत्तालवेआलघोरट्टहासब्भमन्तग्गिजालाउले ॥
मुक्कंकालकावालिउट्ठन्तहाहारवुब्भन्तविग्घोद्दरूसन्तजोईजले ।
एरिसे भीमरूए मसाणे सआ णच्चमाणो सुहं देउ तुम्हाण देओ हरो ॥ १६५ ॥

लहूगुरू णिरन्तरा जहिच्छिआ हुवन्ति जत्थ दण्डओ इमो
अणङ्गसेहरो ॥ १६६ ॥

अणङ्गसेहरो सुद्धसीलस्स—

विसालभाललोलघोलमाणकज्जलुज्जलालआलिमालिआउलोवसोहिए ।
विउद्धमुद्धदुद्धणिद्धपम्हलामलब्भमन्ततारदीहरच्छिरत्तकन्तए ॥

विसट्टसन्दकुन्दगोच्छसच्छकोमलुल्लसन्तादित्तिदन्तवान्तकेसरालए ।
इमंमि एरिसे मुहारविन्दए पिएइ जो पिआहरं महुव्व सो
सउण्णओ ॥ १६७ ॥

सव्वता लहुत्तरा जहिच्छिआ जहिं हुवन्ति सा इमा
असोअपुप्फमंजरित्ति ॥ १६८ ॥

असोअपुप्फमञ्जरी तस्सेअ—

तिक्खखग्गधारभिण्णदुण्णिवारवारणेन्दकुम्भपीठपत्थरोहदुग्गमाए ।
दीहवाणभिज्जमाणजोहदेहरुंडखंडपज्झरन्तसोणिएक्कपाणिआए ॥
दोण्णिभाअजाअकाअणिन्तरत्तसित्तछत्तपुन्डरीअमुत्तकेससेवलाए ।
एरिसीअ सत्तुवाहिणीणईअ मज्झ णाहओ किवाणवीअओ
समुत्तरेइ ॥ १६९ ॥

जइ सव्वचआरगणा अवसाणगुरू तमिणं भणिअं **कुसुमत्थरणं** ॥ १७० ॥

कुसुमत्थरणं सुद्धसहावस्स—

सुपहुत्तसरोअअहंससमूहसमुद्धुअपक्खपरिक्खिअएहिं सआ ।
दिणणाहफुरन्तकरग्गसहस्सविफंसविबोहिअअन्तरएहिं फुडम् ॥
भमरेहिं जहिंछिअअं महुपाणविमोहिअएहिं चलेहिं चिरंचिअओ ।
कमलेहिं कओ रजओहसुसोहिअएहिं मअच्छि विहूसिअओ
सरओ ॥ १७१ ॥

सव्वचआरगणाइगुरू णिहणे दुगुरू जइ तं पभणन्ति
भुअङ्गविलासं ॥ १७२ ॥

भुअङ्गविलासो तस्सेअ—

वासहरम्मि वरे कसणाअरुडज्झिअधूवसुअंधमणोहरए कमणीए ।
पीणघणुण्णअचक्कलथोरथणीअ सअं परिपेल्लिअवच्छअलो रमणीए ॥
कोमलवाहुलआदढवेढिअओ पडिवट्टसुणेत्तविअंसिअए सअणीए ।
पावइ णिद्दिअअं हिअअच्छिअअं सहि जोच्चिअ पुण्णजुओ स णरो
रअणीए ॥ १७३ ॥

मुहज्जू पआरा णिबज्झन्ति जत्तो जहिच्छाइ सो दण्डओ **सीहकीला-**
हिहाणो ॥ १७४ ॥

सीहकीलो जोहअस्स—

अणन्तो महन्तो अकन्तो सअन्तो अणाई अमाई अराई असाई ।
अजोई असोई अमोई अभोई अकोहो अमोहो अरोहो अखोहो ॥
समुत्तुंगदेहो परिच्छिण्णणेहो हआसेसवाहो तिलोईअ णाहो तए मोक्खमग्गे ।
हओसव्वसंगो सुविण्णाअणेओ तुमं देवदंओ महं देउ बोहं समाहिं च णिच्चम् ॥ १७५ ॥

सव्वत्तपा लावसाणा णिवज्झन्ति जत्तो परिल्लं पमोत्तूण सो दण्डओ कामबाणोत्ति ॥ १७६ ॥

कामबाणो वेआलस्स—

' णिच्चं णमो वीअराआ ' एवमाइत्ति ॥ १७७ ॥

पंचसंसारहूए बहुलत्थे लक्खलक्खणविसुद्धे ।
एत्थ सअंभुच्छन्दे उत्ताइविही परिसमत्ता ॥ १७८ ॥

II

विसमे चलणे तिचआरा । अन्तपरन्तगुरू सगआरा ॥
इह वेअवईअ वरद्धे । दोधअअं जइ बीअचउत्थे ॥ १ ॥

वेअवई अङ्गारगणस्स—

कमलं डसिअं तरलेहिं । पेच्छिअ सच्छसरं भसलेहिं ॥
भरिअं पद्दिएण पिआए । घोलिरअंव मुहं अलएहिं ॥ २ ॥

विसमे जइ तत्थ चउत्थओ । तो परगो उवचित्तअमेअम् ॥ ३ ॥

उवचित्तअं अजरामरस्स—

वडपिक्कफलोट्ठि मअच्छिए । उज्जुअले जुअले उअ कन्ते ॥
परिमुक्कमले कमले अलिणो । तुज्झ मुहे णअणेव्व भमन्ते ॥ ४ ॥

दोहअरूअसमक्कमपुव्वो । लहुचगणो जइ सा चलमज्झा ॥ ५ ॥

चलमज्झा लोणुअस्स—

पेच्छ पिए धवले ससिबिंब । हरिणपअंकणअं पडिहाइ ॥
चन्दणचच्चिअए तुह वच्छे । कसणथणेक्कमुहं व विहाइ ॥ ६ ॥

विसमे चलणे उवचित्तअं । दुअविलंबिअअं जइ सेसए ॥
इअ एरिसलक्खणसंजुअं । कइअणेहिं कअं हरिणप्पअम ॥ ७ ॥

हरिणप्पअं दुग्गसीहस्स—

णवकेअइकेसरधूसरे । महुअरे कुसुमम्मि मिलन्तओ ॥
हसिओव्व सिएण दुरेहओ । अवुह मा भम रे भमरे तुमम् ॥ ८ ॥

णिहणोअरन्तगुरुचा गं । जत्थ समाहि एक्कगुरुपुव्वा ॥
चरणा हुवन्ति इअ जिस्सा । **केउमई** कईहिं भणिआ सा ॥ ९ ॥

केउमई तस्सेअ—

तरलेहिं तारकसणेहिं । सुन्दरि जे णिएसि णअणेहिं ॥
मअरद्धआणुगअरूआ । ते सुहआ जिअन्ति जिअलोए ॥ १० ॥

जत्थेन्दवज्जा पढमे तइज्जे । उवेन्दवज्जावि दिए चउत्थे ॥
अक्खाणिआ सा भणिआ कईहिं । कुसुद्दईए उपजाइमज्झे ॥ ११ ॥

अक्खाणिआ लोणुअस्स—

रण्णं वरं सेविअए सवग्घं । विसं वरं दुठ्ठभुअंगमस्स ॥
वाही वरं दुम्मरणं रणं च । ण वासओ दुज्जणमज्झआरे ॥ १२ ॥

इमा पलत्ता **विवरीअपुव्वा** । **अक्खाणिअ**च्चेअ विवज्जएणम् ॥ १३ ॥

विवरीआक्खाणिआ ललिअसहावस्स—

सचन्दणा णीलमुहा वहूए । गंधंधपुप्फंधअगुंजमाणा ॥
सहन्ति कन्दप्पपहुप्पवेसे । वज्जन्तसंखव्व सिअत्थणा से ॥ १४ ॥

सअलसअलउत्तरन्तला । चउतगणा गुरुअं च अन्तए ॥
तणुलहुमुहगा दुचा जुए । तम**वरपत्त**मिणं तओ समम् ॥ १५ ॥

अवरपत्तं सुद्धसहावस्स—

करिवर भर मा सरन्तए । कमलमुणालवणाइँ सीसए ॥
करिणिकरणिवेसिआइए । भणसु सआ सुहिओव्व को जणो ॥ १६ ॥

णवर अवरवत्तपाअअन्ते । अहिअअरेक्कगुरुम्मि **फुल्लिअग्गा** ॥ १७ ॥

फुल्लिअग्गा कालिआसस्स—

अवणअविडओ णईपलासो । पवणवसा धुणिएक्कपण्णहत्थो ॥
दवदहणविवण्णजीविआणं । सलिलमिवेस दएइ पाअवाणम् ॥ १८ ॥

तत्थाइतइज्जुल परेणं । जुत्ते **भद्दवराडिआ** पलत्ता ॥ १९ ॥

भद्दवराडिआ अङ्गारगणस्स—

संझापणओ णिमीलिअच्छं । देहद्धं फुरिआहरोद्धसोहम् ॥
गोरीअ वहेइ जो हसन्तो । सो रुद्दो उवणेउ मङ्गलं वो ॥ २० ॥

पंचता लहुत्तरा गुरुद्दअं च । समसु उज्जुआहिआ **मई जवाई** ॥ २१ ॥
जवमई कलाणुराअस्स—

मत्तहत्थिपाअपीढपल्लिआइं । कलङ्कपङ्कभीअजीअमल्लिआइं ॥
सामिअप्पसाअजाअणीरिआइं । भडाण जीविआइं किं गआइं ताइं ॥ २२ ॥

मईजवाइआ कमुक्कमेण जत्थ । **छप्पआवली** कईहिं सा पलत्ता ॥ २३ ॥
छप्पआवली दुग्गसत्तिस्स—

मणिप्पहा-णहोह-केसरुल्लएहिं । लक्खणंकिअंगुलीदलुल्लएहिं ॥
धरित्तिदेव्वअव्व मच्चमाणिअव्व । मुद्दिए विहासि पाअपंकएहिं ॥ २४ ॥

पढमतइअए गीई बीअचउत्थंमि खंधओ जीए ।
सअललहुअणिहणगुरू **सिहत्ति** सा उक्कमेण भणिआ **खञ्जा** ॥ २५ ॥
सिहा सुद्धसहावस्स—

कमलवणसरसपसरिअरअपरिमलमिलिअभसलउलमुहलो ।
मुहलसिअविहअविलुलिअकुवलअदलकसणसअलसरवरणिअरो ॥
णिअरपरिगलिअतरुवरसकुसुमपहखलणविमणपहिअजणो ।
पहिअजणगमणगअमण भण पिअअम कमिह ण तवइ णवर सरओ ॥ २६ ॥
अहवा अण्णस्स—

खणपसरिअहरगलगरलकसणघणघडणजणिअरणरणअम् ।
णिअदइअविविहगुणसुमरणपरिगलिअविरहिजणगुरुसुहपसरम् ॥
णवरिअसिअमणहरकुडअमअणघणसुरहिकुसुमवणगहणम् ।
सवइ घणसमअमविरअमिह तुह पहु वइरि सअलपरिअणसुअणो ॥ २७ ॥
खंजा अङ्गारगणस्स—

गरुअणवसअलजलहरपउरबहुतलिवडणपडिअमहिहरसिरो ।
विउलगअणतलपसरिअसुरधणुपरिभमिररुइरदिअणिवहो ॥
सुहिअसिहिउलकअकलअलविरहिजणजणिअअइदुसहरणरणओ ।
इअ पिअअम गम(ण)गअमण भण कमिह ण खलइ पढमघणसमओ ॥ २८ ॥
अहवा अण्णस्स—

हरइ णवसरसविअलिअमणहरवरकुसुमसुरहिरअणिअरवहो ।
कलकणिरभमिरभमरउलबहलथिरमहुररवणिअरमुहलो ॥

मअमुइअतरुणपरहुअघणकलअलभरिअसअलदिअणहविवरो ।
विरहिअणाहिअअमविरअपसरिअमहुसमअसिसिरसुहपवणो ॥ २९ ॥

पंचंससारहूए बहुलत्थे लक्खलक्खणविसुद्धे ।
एत्थ सअंभुच्छन्दे अद्धसमं परिसमत्तमिणम् ॥ ३० ॥

III

रसचा परोरपरवंक । पगुणपरमज्झगा गुरू ॥
पुव्वतइअगदुछा सगुरू । जइ णन्दिणी णिहणअम्मि **उग्गआ** ॥ १ ॥
उग्गआ अब्भुअस्स—

भुवणाहिपं विमलतेअ— । मतणुअमणुत्तमं विहुम् ॥
मुक्कसअलपसुपासमलं । परमं पुराणपुरिसं णमं सिवं ॥ २ ॥

तइअक्खरं सह परेण । तइअचरणम्मि जुज्जए ॥
तं भणन्ति किर **सोरहअं** । सममुग्गआइ जइ सेसलक्खणम् ॥ ३ ॥
सोरहअं इसहलस्स—

छणचंदबिम्बसरिसेण । समहुरसज्झगन्धिणा ॥
कोमलेण कमलेणव तं । अहिअं विहासि वअणेण मुद्धिए ॥ ४ ॥

जइ उग्गआइ पमुहंमि । तइअचरणस्स छल्लहू ॥
सअलनिउणजणसंगहिअं । इणमो मुणेह **ललिअस्स** लक्खणम् ॥ ५ ॥
ललिअं कलाणुराअस्स—

अरविन्दसन्दमअरन्द— । भमिरभमरन्धआरिअम् ॥
विमलबहलसलिलग्घविअम् । कमलाअरं विसइ वारणाहिओ ॥ ६ ॥

गच्छोचा परमज्झपुव्वदोन्तगुरुज्जू । पजुअं उरमुहलं वसुज्जुणो गम् ।
दसलहु गुरु दुलगा । **पच्चुविअ**मिह सअलकईहिं णिबद्धम् ॥ ७ ॥
पचुविअं उब्भडस्स—

वासारत्तसमाप्पिओ णिरण्णअरूओ । पडओव्व सअलमेहपुञ्जसोहो ॥
कुणइ असइहिअए । बहलरअणितमणिअरो गुरुतोसम् ॥ ८ ॥

एअं चेअ भणन्ति वा **उअत्थिअ**पुव्वं । दुगुणे तइअकमंमि **वद्धमाणम्** ॥९॥
वद्धमाणं रविवप्पस्स—

मुद्धं सोम्मसहावअं समप्पिअचित्तं । णिहुअं ललहविलासिणीविअद्धम् ।
अमअरसगुरुअअं णिहुअमहुरलविरं । घरघरिणिसुरअसुवल्लभइ कत्तो ॥१०॥

चा दोन्तोउरगा **गुरू** तइज्जअपाए । अवरं **पचुविअ**लक्खणं असेसम् ।
सा **सुद्धविराडिआ** तहि । जइ पढमगणविरइ **आविसहं** तम् ॥ ११ ॥

सुद्धविराडिआ सुद्धसीलस्स—

हत्थारोविअरुन्दचन्दाविम्बकवोले । गुणसंभ(र)णगलन्तबाहधारे ॥
थोरत्थणि मज्झखामिए । परिमिससि ससिसि भण कस्स कएणम् ॥ १२ ॥

आविसहं ललिअसहावस्स—

दुक्खे दुक्खिअओ सुहम्मि वड्ढिअसोक्खो । हरिणो जह
समवड्ढिअम्मि चन्दे ॥
चन्दस्स तहा ण तोत्तिअं । परिहरइ णिअअपइअं किमणुज्जु ॥ १३ ॥

चत्तारि अंसआ पाअे दोदोअक्खरसंजुआ ।
लहुअं णाइवण्णादो तं **सिलोअस्स** लक्खणम् ॥ १४ ॥

सिलोओ छइल्लस्स—

चंदविम्बंव कन्तिल्लं पुन्डरीअव्वँ कोमलम् ॥
सव्वलोअं सुहावेउं मुहं ते केण णिम्मिअम् ॥ १५ ॥

पञ्चमं लं तिगं **वत्तं सुवत्तं** सत्तमे अ ले ।
समपाए पुणो **पच्छा पच्छावत्तं** विवज्जए ॥ १६ ॥

वत्तं विअड्ढस्स—

सव्वविग्गहणेआरा पत्ता कण्डज्जुणा कण्णम् ।
धरिआ तेण ते देवि एअं तं माणअं जाअम् ॥ १७ ॥

सुवत्तं सुहङराअस्स—

एअं कामस्स अङ्गअं कअं मसी पिणाइणा ।
देन्ति अच्छीसु कामिणी तेण कज्जेण कज्जलम् ॥ १८ ॥

पच्छा सुद्धसहावस्स—

अवणेउं ससी जाव कलङ्कं किर झिज्जए ।
ताव तं तारिसंचेअ को णासेइ पुराकअम् ॥ १९ ॥

पच्छावत्तं चन्दराअस्स—

पत्तो तुज्झ मुहच्छविं चन्दो चन्दाअणं काउम् ॥
जाअं णवरलंछणं अहिअं पुण्णमासीए ॥ २० ॥

वत्तं तमेव चवला सागरा जइ लत्तअम् ।
वत्तंअ होइ **चवलापच्छाए** सुमणोहरम् ॥ २१ ॥

चवलापच्छा छड्डाण—

चन्दणं चन्दकिरणा कप्पूरं मलआणिला ।
ता सुहावेन्ति हिअअं जा पासे पिअमाणुसम् ॥ २२ ॥

सेअवमएण विउला चउभेआ, पिङ्गलस्स अठ्ठविहा ।
तिस्सा परिवाडीए को सक्कइ लक्खणं काउम् ॥ २३ ॥

अठ्ठक्खराइं पढमे वारह वीअंमि सोरहं तइए ।
वीस चउत्थे पाए **पअचउरुद्धं** इमं भणिअम् ॥ २४ ॥

पअचउरुद्धं ललहसहावस्स—

संपुण्णचन्दवअणा । विणिद्दणीलुप्पललोललोअणा ॥
जस्स थोरथणिआ धणिआ छन्दाणुवत्तिणी ।
अच्छउ जत्थ तत्थ सहलंचिअ तस्स णवरि जीविअम् ॥ २५ ॥

सव्वाइ उज्जुआइं दोदो वंकाइं जत्थ पमुहम्मि ।
एसो **पच्छावीडु; आवीडु** जस्स णिहणम्मि ॥ २६ ॥

पच्छावीडु ललअस्स—

एण्हि तइ मह कअ-। माअङ्किअतरुणिमणपसर ॥
अङ्गे विरइअरइसुहमसरिसगुण ।
दुक्खं पिअ दरसिअबहुविहललिअमाणिअरव ॥ २७ ॥

आवीडु तस्सेअ—

सहि रइसुहसारो । सअलभुअणकअपरिओसो ॥
दरसिअवहुविहतरुणिहिअअराओ ।
सहइ मह पअडविविहगुणसअसुहअ कन्तो ॥ २८ ॥

पढमो बीएण समं पण्हइ **मंजरी** एसा ।
तइएण समं **लवली** परेण सह **अमअधारेत्ति** ॥ २९ ॥

मञ्जरी अङ्गारगणस्स—

फलिणिकुसुमवररअगोरे । घणथणहरवहे ॥
उअह घडिअपिअअमणहवअमग्गो ।
लहइ कणअकलसठविअणवकिसलअसोहम् ॥ ३० ॥

लवली सुद्धसहावस्स—

धवलकमलपरिमलल्लुद्धा । रुणरुणिअजणिअजणमणपरिओसा ॥
कुसुमरअविलित्ता । भण कमिह ण हरइ सरअपमुइअभसलाली ॥ ३१ ॥

भमअधारा तस्सेअ—

मणमणिअकणअरसणाणं । सललिअथरहरिअथणअजुअलाणम् ॥
मुणिमवि हरइ उअ तह कह कहवि तरुणीणं । विसमरअविलासो ॥ ३२ ॥

पंचंससारहूए बहुलत्थे लक्खलक्खणविसुध्दे ।
एत्थ सअंभुच्छन्दे पाउअसारो परिसमत्तो ॥ ३२ ॥

MATERIALS FOR AN ISMAILI BIBLIOGRAPHY: 1920-1934

By Asaf A. A. Fyzee

Last year while writing a paper of a popular character on "The Progress of Ismailitic Studies during the last fifteen Years,"[1] I conceived the idea of preparing a bibliography of all works on Ismailism which have appeared during the last 15 years. The need for this is twofold. In the first place, no classified bibliography of Ismailism has appeared so far. For Massignon's "Esquisse,"[2] as he himself realizes more than any one else, was only tentative. It could not, in the then state of our knowledge of this very interesting sect, be anything else. In the next, since 1920 the materials at our disposal for the study of Ismailism in all its phases have increased greatly. Although not a hundredth part of the true glory of Ismaili sciences, *ḥaqā'iq* (esoteric philosophy), *ta'wīl* (allegorical interpretation of the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*), *'aqā'id*, *fiqh*, and the other forms of writing such as *risālas*, *sīras*, *majālis*, have been studied, still the vista that has in the last few years been opened by Ismaili scholars presents a fascinating spectacle.

The time has therefore come when stock may be taken of what has been accomplished and what remains to be done. For this surely nothing is of greater utility than a proper bibliography. The preparation of such a complete and classified bibliography, having regard to the conditions in Bombay, is almost an impossibility. We possess no complete collection of works published in the East relating to Ismailism, much less all the European work on the subject.

This therefore is an attempt to pave the way for a more or less exhaustive bibliography which we hope to see before the passing of our generation. Every attempt to make the list as complete and exhaustive as possible has been made; and in this connection it is a pleasure to acknowledge the kindness of my friend, W. Ivanow, who has been good enough to help me in particular with

[1] *The Ismaili* (Bombay), Birthday No., 31 January 1935, p. 8-10.
[2] See No. 6 below.

the Russian titles. Nevertheless, it is necessary clearly to say in what directions the bibliography remains incomplete, or at any rate, subject to doubt. First, the work of all esoteric sects is difficult of access. The difficulties are so peculiar and sometimes so amusing that it may of itself be the subject of a very entertaining paper. Second, oriental research in the various European languages has increased to such an extent, that one may well despair of collecting even the titles of all the works published. The late Professor Browne used to complain bitterly that scholarly work in the different European languages had reached such proportions, that it was desirable to go back to Latin for embodying the results of research. When that was the opinion of a versatile linguist working in Cambridge, what would be the position of an ordinary Indian working in Bombay? The languages that were once supposed to be necessary, as well as enough, were English, French and German. But now Russian, Italian and Spanish have also acquired great importance. Many scholars have enriched their own tongues by scholarly researches; probably good work has been done in Dutch, Polish and Hungarian, and how is one to get in touch with it? Third and last, much valuable information is entombed in the Indian Blue Books, census reports, ethnological surveys, special monographs, provincial gazetteers, manuals of local customs, and the like, familiarity with which is much to be desired, but difficult of achievement.

It is to be hoped that readers of these pages, who are interested in the subject, will be good enough to communicate to me the titles of works and articles which have remained unnoticed.

1920

1. R. E. ENTHOVEN. *Tribes and Castes of Bombay.*
   i. 197-208 (Bohoras); ii. 217-230 (Khojas). (This work is in three vols. Vol. I appeared in 1920; Vols. II and III in 1922).

1921

2. BOHORAS. 1921, *Census of India*, Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 151, 161.
3. JUDGMENT in *Advocate-General* v. *Yusufalli.* Decision of Marten, J., in the Chandabhoy Gulla case. (Bombay High Court). 24 *Bombay Law Reporter* 1060. (This judgment is not fully reported here; it is only an abridgement of the elaborate judgment delivered by Marten, J.)

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4. IVANOW, W. *Ismailitica, I* and *II. Mem. Asiat. Soc. of Bengal,* VIII, No. 1, 1-76. Calcutta.
5. IVANOW, W. An Ismailitic Pedigree. *JASB,* 403-6. (Issued in October 1923.)
6. MASSIGNON, L. Esquisse d'une Bibliographie Qarmaṭe. *'Ajab-nāma* (A Volume of Studies presented to E. G. Browne on his 60th Birthday, Cambridge), 328-339.
7. NĀṢIR-I KHUSRAW. *Zādu'l-Musāfirīn.* Persian text, ed. Dr. M. B. Rehman. Kaviani Press, Berlin.
8. NĀṢIR-I KHUSRAW. *Safar Nāma.* With *Rawshanā'ī Nāma* and *Sa'ādat Nāma.* Kaviani Press, Berlin.

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9. IVANOW, W. Imam Ismail. *JASB,* 305-10.
10. De LACY O'LEARY. *Short History of the Fatimid Khalifate,* London.

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11. NĀṢIR-I KHUSRAW. *Wajh-i Dīn.* Kaviani Press, Berlin.

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12. SEMENOV, A. A. Protivorechiya v uchenyi o pereseleniyi dush u Pamirskikh ismailitov i u Nasir-i-Khosrova. (Contradictions dans les avis sur la metempsychose dans les oeuvres de Nassir-i-Khosrau et chez les ismailiéns de Pamir). *Bulletin de l'Universite de'Asie Centrale,* No. 9, Tashkent, 103-117.

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13. NIZĀRĪ QUHISTĀNĪ, (Ḥakīm) NA'ĪMU'D-DĪN b. JALĀLU'D-DĪN. *Dastūr-Nama.* Ed. E. Bertels. Vostochniy Sbornik, Leningrad, 37-104.
14. SEMENOV, A. A. K dogmatike pamirskogo ismailisma (On the dogmatics of Pamir Ismailism. A translation with comments on the 11th Chapter of the *Wajh-i Dīn*). Tashkent, pp. 52.

1927

1928

15. IKHWĀNU'Ṣ-ṢAFĀ. *Rasā'il.* Edited by Khairu'd-dīn az-Zuruklī. Introduction by Dr. Ṭā Hā Ḥusain and Aḥmad Zakī Pasha. 4 parts bound in 2 Vols. Cairo, 1347/1928.
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17. FYZEE, ASAF A. A. Bequests to Heirs—Ismaili Law. *JBBRAS*, 141 and 31 *Bombay Law Reporter*, Journal, 84.
18. NĀṢIR-I KHUSRAW. *Dīwān*, with *Rawshanā'ī-Nāma* and *Sa'ādat-Nāma*, printed in Tehran.
19. SEMENOV, A. A. Ismailitskiy panegirik obozhestvlennomu 'Aliyu Fedai Khorasanskogo (Un panégyrique ismaélite d'Ali divinisé, fait par Feda'i Khorasani). *Iran* (Leningrad), III, 51-70.

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20. HITTI, P. *Origins of the Druze People.* New York.
21. LEVY, R. The account of the Ismaili doctrines in the *Jāmi 'al-Tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh. *JRAS*, 509-536.
22. MEHDIBAGHWALLAHS. Judgment of the Privy Council in *Mohammad Ibrahim Riza Malak* v. *The Commissioner of Income-Tax of Nagpur.* 32 *Bombay Law Reporter* 1538.
23. SEMENOV, A. A. Shughnansko-izmailitskaya redaktsiya " Knigi Svieta " (روشنائي نامه) Nasir-i-Khosrova (Une rédaction ismaélite de Shugnan du " Livre de la Lumière de Nasir-i-Khusrau). *Zapiski* (*Memoires du Comité des Orientalistes*), Leningrad, V. 589-610.

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24. BOHORAS. 1931, *Census of India*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, Table XVII, p. 529; and Vol. I, Part i, Table XII, p. 464.
25. BOWEN, HAROLD. The *sar-gudhashti-sayyadnā*, the " Tale of the Three Schoolfellows," and the *waṣāyā* of Niẓām al-Mulk. *JRAS*, 771-782.
26. FYZEE, ASAF A. A. *Introduction to the Study of Mahomedan Law.* Oxford University Press, pp. 30-38.
27. FYZEE, ASAF A. A. Ismaili Law of *Mut'a.* 33 *Bombay Law Reporter*, Journal, 30-32.
28. HAMDANI, H. F. The Life and Times of Queen Saiyida Arwā, the Sulaihid of Yemen. *JRCAS*, XVIII, 505.
29. IVANOW, W. An Ismailitic Work by Naṣīru'd-dīn Ṭūsī (An analysis of the *Rawḍatu'l-Taslīm*). *JRAS*, 527-564.
30. IVANOW, W. Alamut. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 38-45.
31. JUDGMENT in the BURHANPUR DARGAH CASE. *Tayabali Mahomedali* v. *Mulla Abdulhusein and others.* Suit No. 32 of 1925, Court of 1st Class sub-judge, Burhanpur, C.P., G. S. Kher, Esq. Judgment delivered on 2 January 1931; published by the plaintiff, October 1931. Brittanic Press, Fort, Bombay. 115 pages. See No. 60 below.
32. JUWAYNI. *Ta'rīkh-i-Jahān-Gushāy.* Persian text edited in facsimile, with an Introduction by Sir E. Denison Ross. Royal Asiatic Society, London. James Forlong Fund, Vol. X.

33. KRAUS, PAUL. Hebraische and syrische Zitate in ismā'īlitischen Schriften. *Der Islam*, XIX, 243.

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34. FYZEE, ASAF A. A. Ismaili Law of *Mut'a*. *JBBRAS*, 85-88.
35. FYZEE, ASAF A. A. Ismaili Law of Wills. 34 *Bombay Law Reporter*, Journal, 89.
36. HAMDANI, H. F. The History of Ismaili Da'wat and its Literature during the last phase of the Fatimid Empire. *JRAS*, 126.
37. HAMDANI, H. F. The *Rasā'il Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā* in the Literature of the Ismaili Ṭaiyibī Da'wat. *Der Islam*, XX, 281.
38. HASAN IBRAHIM HASAN. *al-Fāṭimīyūn fī Miṣr*. Ministry of Public Instruction, Egypt. Government Press, Cairo.
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42. KRAUS, P. La Bibliographie Ismaélienne de W. Ivanow. *REI*, IV, 483-490. (A review of No. 49. Appeared in 1934).
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44. ṬAIYIB'ALĪ 'ABD AR-RASUL and AḤMAD 'ALĪ 'ABD AR-RASŪL. *Sīrat-i Saiyid-nā al-Qāḍī an-Nu'mān*. In Urdu. 48 pp. Nādirī Press, Jubbulpore, C.P.

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45. (Shaikh) 'ABDU'L-LĀH b. al-Murtaḍā al-Khawābī al-Ismā'īlī. *al-Falaku'd-Dawwār fī Shamā'il A'immati'l-Aṭhār* (A History of Ismailism written by a Syrian Nizari). Al-Maṭba' al-Mārūnīya, Ḥalab, pp. 275.

BABA SAYYID-NA (*Haft Bāb*). See No. 51 below.

46. BERTELS, E. *Safar-Nāma* of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Translated into Russian (?) (See *EI*, iii, 869).
47. FYZEE, ASAF A. A. *Ismaili Law of Wills*. Arabic Text, edited and translated into English, of the *Kitābu'l-Waṣāyā* from the *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām* of the Qāḍī an-Nu'mān b. Muhammad. Oxford University Press. (See also 34 *Bom. Law Reporter*, Jl. 89.)
48. HAMDANI, H. F. Some Unknown Ismaili Authors and their Works. *JRAS*, 359–378.
49. IVANOW, W. *A Guide to Ismaili Literature*. Royal Asiatic Society London. Prize Publication Fund, Vol. XIII.

50. IVANOW, W. *Dīwān of Khākī Khorāsānī.* Persian text abridged edited with an introduction. Islamic Research Association Series, No. 1. Bombay.

51. IVANOW, W. *Two Early Ismaili Treatises. Haft Bābi Bābā Sayyid-nā* and *Maṭlubā'l-Mu'minīn* by Naṣīru'd-Dīn Ṭūsī. Persian text, edited with an introduction. Islamic Research Association Series, No. 2. Bombay.

52. IVANOW, W. *True Meaning of Religion. Risāla dar Ḥaqīqati Dīn* by Shihābu'd-dīn Shāh. Persian text, with a complete English translation. Islamic Research Association Series, No. 3. Bombay.

53. JHAVERI, K. M. (Dewan Bahadur). A Legendary History of the Bohoras. *JBBRAS*, 37-52.

KHAKI KHORASANI. See No. 50 above.

54. MU'TAZID WALI-UR-RAHMAN. The Psychology of Nasir-i-Khusrow. *Journal of the Osmania University College*, Hyderabad, Deccan. Vol. i, pp. 61-87.

NASIRU'D-DIN TUSI. See No. 51 above.

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56. FYZEE, ASAF A. A. Qāḍī an-Nu'mān, the Fatimid Jurist and Author. *JRAS*, 1-32.

57. FYZEE, ASAF A. A. A Chronological List of the Imāms and Dā'īs of the Musta'lian Ismailis. *JBBRAS*, 8-17.

58. FYZEE, ASAF A. A. An Ancient copy of *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām. Bombay University Journal*, II, 127-133.

59. HAMDANI, H. F. The Letters of al-Mustanṣir bi'l-lāh. *BSOS*, VII, 307-324.

IBN HANI. See No. 63 below.

60. JUDGMENT (Appellate Court) in the BURHANPUR DARGAH CASE. See No. 31 above. Court of the Additional Judicial Commissioner, Nagpur, C.P., F. H. Staples, Esq. *Mansoorali and others* v. *Tayabali and others.* 1st Appeal No. 52 of 1931. Judgment delivered on 25 October 1934; Judgment printed privately later. 25 pages.

61. MAMOUR, P. H. *Polemics on the Origin of the Fatimi Caliphs.* Luzac, London.

62. STROTHMANN, R. Jemenisches Ismailitentum nach unveröffentlichten Polemiken. *ZDMG*, Band 88, page *32.*

63. ZAHID ALI. *Tabyīnu'l-Ma'ānī fī Sharḥ Dīwān Ibn Hānī. Dīwān* of Ibn Hāni, edited in the original with a commentary in Arabic. Maṭba'atu'l-Ma'ārif, Cairo. 1353/1934.

SUPPLEMENTARY.

(*a*) Undated articles and books.

64. (Mian Bhai Mulla) ABDUL HUSAIN. *Gulzare Daudi* (for the Bohras of India). In English. This note was meant as a Supplement for an article on the Bohras printed on pages 15-23, Vol. XVII of the Ethnographic Survey, Central Provinces. Printed at the Amarsinhji Press, Lal Darwaza, Lalkaka Lodge, Ahmedabad, by Pathan Nurkhan Amirkhan Vakil. 223 pages. No dates. 500 copies were printed.

65. *Ṣaḥīfatu's-Ṣalāt*. For the use of Sulaimānī Bohoras. In Urdu, 560 pages. Lith. Muṣṭafā'ī Press, Bombay. No date. *Ca.* 1915.

66. BOHORAS. The Historic Tadkeshwar Document (being the Farman of His Imperial Majesty Shahinshah JAHĀNGĪR (1605-1627) granted to the famous Jagirdar Family of Tadkeshwar. Translated from the Persian. Printed at the Muslim-Gujrat Press, Surat and Published by Mr. Ismail Mohamed Desai of Tadkeshwar. No date. *Ca.* 1932.

67. The following articles from the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden—London, 1906—in course of publication) may also be consulted:

    Vol. I *Asās* (Goldziher); Assassins; Bāṭinīya (Carra de Vaux); Bohoras (Arnold); Druzes (Carra de Vaux).

    Vol. II. Fatimids (Graefe); Ikhwān al-Ṣafā (T. J. Boer); Ismā'īlīya (Huart); Ḳarmaṭians (Massignon); Khoja (Yusuf Ali).

    Vol. III. (In course of publication). al-Mu'aiyad fi'l-Dīn Hibat Allāh Shīrāzī (Hamdani); an-Nu'mān, the *Qāḍī* (Fyzee); Nāṣir-i-Khusraw (Bertels); and other articles.

    Vol. IV. Sab'īya (Strothmann); Shī'a (Strothmann); Yām and Yaman (Grohmann).

    The *Supplement* which is in course of publication will also contain many valuable articles, for example, Ismā'īlīya (W. Ivanow).

(*b*) Older articles and books.

68. *Bombay Gazetteer* (1899), Vol. IX, Part ii, 25-34.

69. ROSE, H. A. *Glossary of Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province.* Government Press, Lahore, 1919. Vol. I, 507 (Ismailism); 543 (Khojas).

70. SACHEDINA NANJIANI (Assistant Revenue Commissioner, Cutch). *Khoja Vrattānta* (History of the Shī'a Imāmī Ismā'īlī Khojas). For Khojas only. Shamsher Bahadur Press, Ahmedabad, Gujrat. A.D. 1892, Samvat Year 1948, 268 pages, demi 8vo.

71. WILSON, JOHN. *Indian Caste.* Bohras, ii. 119. 2 vols. Blackwood, London. Printed at the Times of India Office, Bombay, 1877.

72. KITTS, EUSTACE J. *A Compendium of the Castes and Tribes found in India.* Bombay Education Society's Press, 1885. Bohoras, p. 4; Khojas, p. 11.

Bombay, *April*, 1935.

SHORT NOTE

THE ĀBHĪRA-TRAIKŪṬAKA DYNASTY

By S. V. Vishwanatha

The Ābhīra-Traikūṭakas were among the earliest dynasties of Mediaeval Dekhan. It has generally been supposed that these were two distinct dynasties, though, not more than one king is known so far, and could be taken to belong to the Ābhīra. (Dubreuil, *Dekhan*). The Ābhīras have been looked upon as a separate dynasty who flourished in the middle of the 3rd Century A.D., while the Traikūṭakas are assigned to a later age. The region over which this dynasty held sway was identical with or formed part of the territory of the Western Kshatrapas. The dominion of the Traikūṭakas is also admitted to have extended over the same tract of territory on the West Coast.

The Ābhīras and Traikūṭakas really belonged to the same family, the dynasty ordinarily known as Traikūṭaka being only the descendants of the Ābhīras. The word Ābhīra denotes only the hill-race or tribe to which the family belonged ; and the Ābhīras are mentioned among the tribes that were subject to Samudragupta's rule. The title "Traikūṭaka" of the dynasty is only "regional" and indicates that their territory lay round Trikūṭa on the Western Coastal region. It included probably a good part of the North Bombay Presidency, Gujarat and Kathiawar. This dynasty played perhaps only a small role in the history of India ; but its importance lies chiefly in the fact that it had its rise from a low racial origin, and though some of its early members are known only as having served as commanders under the Western Kshatrapas, they could establish a ruling dynasty on the decline of the power of their suzerain. This incident was of such an outstanding significance that it became a land-mark in the history of the Dekhan and was the origin of a new era beginning with A.D. 248. The Kaṭachuris or Chedis adopted the same era in their inscriptions.

The Ābhīra-Traikūṭakas are stated to be the Western neighbours of the Vākāṭakas and the Kadambas; and Trikūṭa is mentioned in the Ajanta inscription as one of the countries included in the conquests of the Vākāṭaka King Harisena (*C.* 500-530 A.D.). Probably the fortune of the dynasty fell after this conquest, and no inscriptions of these kings are met with beyond the year 500 A.D. The lower limit of their rule seems to lie somewhere about this date.

Even while this country was in the firm grip of the Western Kshatrapas, we meet with an Ābhīra commander (*Senāpati*) Rudrabhūti by name, the son of a commander Būhaka, mentioned as a donor in one of the Western Kshatrapa epigraphs, dated Śaka 103=181 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, X. 157). Obviously, these Ābhīras served as commanders under the Kshatrapas, and wielded enormous influence under their kings. Two more names of Ābhīra chiefs are met with in an inscription at Nasik (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, 88f), of the ninth year of Ābhīra Īśvarasena, son of Māḍharīputra Śivadatta Ābhīra. The former, who in all probability is identical with a king Īśvaradatta whose coins are met with in the same region on the West Coast, (Rapson, *Coins*, p. CXXXVI; sects, 42, 132 and 134) appears to be the first Ābhīra chief to rise to the position of an independent ruler. He could have got this glory only during the period of a temporary decline in the fortune of the Western Kshatrapa kingdom and the short period of general confusion that followed the death of Jīvadāman. As Rapson says, the first symptoms of a decline of the Western Kshatrapa power actually began to appear about 245 or 246 A.D. in the reign of Vijayasena (Rapson, p. 137).

Obviously, in the midst of this confusion, the Ābhīra carved out a portion of the Western Kshatrapa territory for himself and rose from the position of vassalage to be the founder of a new dynasty of kings. This incident should have taken place *after* 245 or 246 A.D., *and not before*, as Rapson seems to hold, while fixing the period of rule of Īśvaradatta of his coins between 236 and 239 A.D. (p. CXXXVI) At the same time, we are also told that the Western Kshatrapas were able to retrieve their lost fortune even in the reign of Dāmajadaśrī, the son of Vijayasena. Īśvarasena could thus have been king only for a very short period.

It is therefore highly probable that he assumed the title of king on September 5, 248 A.D., which date has been taken (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, 129) to mark the Traikūṭaka or Chedi era. Īśvarasena or Īśvaradatta was probably the founder of the era and of the Traikūṭaka dynasty of kings.

Nothing more is heard for a time of the Ābhīra or of the new family that was founded by Īśvaradatta. As stated above, the sway over his territories passed once more to the Western Kshatrapas. There is only one piece of direct evidence to indicate that Īśvaradatta and his successors should have been driven eastward into the Chedi country and that is the era that Īśvaradatta had founded. The Ābhīra fugitives should have found themselves in the Chedi country round about Tripura (Tewar) and Kalinjara, Ratanpur and Raipur. Here, they forgot their Ābhīra origin and claimed affinity with the Hehayas who had already held sway in the new region of their occupation. The original Ābhīra or Traikūṭaka era came thence to be known as the Chedi era.

When the Western Kshatrapa empire began to decline, especially after the time of Rudrasena III (*C.* 360 A.D.), there was a chance for the family in exile to return once more to the Ābhīra country, the original region over which they had once ruled in the West Coast. Besides, they should have been pressed back by the Vākātakas who were rising to power. This accounts for the appearance of a line of kings ruling in the territory round Trikūṭa in the 5th Century A.D., known ordinarily as the Traikūṭakas. The original Ābhīras had, however, become brahmanical in their ways after their emigration, under the influence of the Hehayas, and if the term Ābhīra is not met with at all, hereafter, as denoting a line of rulers, it is for this reason.

Coins unearthed from this "Traikūṭaka" territory on the West Coast mention three names of kings belonging to the Traikūṭaka dynasty. These are Indradatta, his son Dahrasena or Dahragaṇa and his son Vyāghrasena (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XXIII, 1-7). An inscription of the second of these engraved on the Pardi Plates (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XVI, p. 346) is dated in the year 207 of the era of the Traikūṭakas, and it brings therefore the year A.D. 455 within the reign of this king. The Surat Plates of Vyāghrasena (*Ep. Ind.*, XI, 219) give this king similarly the date 489 A.D.

The full genealogy of the Ābhīra-Traikūṭaka dynasty will be as follows :—

1st Line.

Bāhaka Ābhīra | Rudrabhūti Māḍhariputra Śivadatta | Māḍhariputra Īśvarasena	150–250 A.D.

As the year 181 A.D. falls in the life-time of Rudrabhūti, and 248 in that of Īśvarasena, it is possible that there was only one generation between the two. If so, Śivadatta may be the son of Rudrabhūti.

Later Line.

Indra Datta Dahrasena Vyāghrasena	*C.*400–500 A.D.

Numismatic evidence is to the effect that Śaka 310=A.D. 388 is the last known date of the Western Kshatrapas (Rapson).

The era beginning with 248 A.D. is met with in use among the Ābhīra-Traikūṭakas, the Chedis and Kālachuris. Recently Mr. K. P. Jayasval expressed the view that this " Chedi era was founded by the Vākāṭakas." I hope to deal with this subject at greater length later. If this be accepted, the following important questions will be left unanswered. Why should the era not have been known as the Vākāṭaka era, if it was founded by this dynasty. The Vākāṭakas were certainly the most important dynasty of the Dekhan in the period. Was the country occupied or ruled over by the Vākāṭakas the same as the Chedi (Kāṭachuri) or Traikūṭaka country ; and how to account for the use of this era in the inscriptions of the latter and in the West Coast ? These questions will only be solved if it is taken that the era was founded on the West Coast by the Ābhīra chief Īśvaradatta in commemoration of the establishment of the Ābhīra-Traikūṭaka dynasty, on the decline of the Western Kshatrapa rule on the West Coast. It may be that Vindhyaśakti " the banner of Vākāṭaka race " founded this line of kings in the same year. It travelled with the Ābhīras

into the interior and was used by the line of kings that succeeded them in the region of their settlement or was related to them in any way. Thus, the kings of the Kaṭachuri dynasty, Krishnarāja, Śaṅkaragaṇa and Buddharāja are seen to use this era in dating their inscriptions.

Now to give a summary of our main conclusion, the dynasty of kings known as the Traikūṭakas is only a later line of the Ābhīra family.

Īśvarasena or Īśvaradatta was the first Ābhīra-Traikūṭaka king and the founder of the era beginning with A.D. 248. The Traikūṭakas were Ābhīras by race, and were so called because of the region of their rule, which was more or less the region of sway of the Ābhīra-Traikūṭakas, and Western Kshatrapas.

In the first period, A.D. 150-250 the Ābhīra-Traikūṭakas were only commanders and vassals of the Western Kshatrapas. It was only the kings in the second period, A.D. 400-500 that came strictly to be styled as the Traikūṭaka line of kings. The Kaṭachuris or Chedis were closely related to the Ābhīras, if they were not, especially the later kings, directly their descendants in the Chedi country.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THREE NEW WORKS ON THE HISTORY OF ISMAILISM

Prince P. H. Mamour. *Polemics on the Origin of the Fatimi Caliphs.* London (Luzac & Co.), 1934. 231 pp.

This book, though appearing in English, "sounds" very Arabic, closely recalling the diction, ways of reasoning, and the general style of Arabic theological and historical literature. It is apparently the most interesting of the three new works on the history of Ismailism which are reviewed here. It takes up the most difficult question, whether the Fatimid caliphs really descended from Imam Ismâ'îl, son of Imam Ja'far, and thus from 'Alî and the Prophet through his daughter Fatima. The author diligently collects much material concerning the versions of their genealogy given by different historians, genealogists, controversionalists, etc. On one or two occasions he vaguely refers to "Ismaili literature," but the impression is that he had no genuine Ismaili books at his disposal. Though he perused a large number of works, there are still many, especially Persian, which could be added to the list.

He classifies all the different variants of the genealogy of the Fatimids into several types, refuting those which he regards as erroneous. The version which he accepts is that which was given in the official refutation by the Abbasid caliphs, *i.e.*, that in which the Fatimids are supposed to descend from Maymûn al-Qaddâḥ, and his son 'Abdu'l-lâh. The author, rejecting the obviously fictitious genealogy of this Maymûn, given in the official refutation, suggests that the name was in reality a fictitious one, adopted by Imam Muḥammad b. Ismâ'îl, who had to live in strict disguise, hiding himself from the numerous agents of his deadly enemies, the Abbasid caliphs. Prince Mamour spares no effort to convince the reader of his theory, which seems, on the whole, highly probable.

As is well known, there is no question concerning the genealogy of the first seven Imams, from 'Alî to Muḥammad b. Ismâ'îl. But after him there is a dark period for over hundred years, when, with al-Mahdî, the things become clear again. For this period of *satr*, or concealment, the early Ismaili works either preserve complete silence, or vaguely refer to *al-A'immatu'l-mastûrîn*, *i.e.*, the "Concealed Imams," without giving any details as to who they were, and how many. Their names and sequence are given only in the works which were composed several centuries later. It is really strange that when the Fatimids had already established themselves as powerful kings, and there was no longer any necessity to conceal themselves, they apparently never published any official version of their genealogy in order to stop the accusations of their numerous enemies which, indeed, were bound to create a certain misapprehension in the ranks of their followers. Still stranger is the fact that, as far as it is possible to see, there apparently never was any officially recognized version of the genealogy during this dark period, obligatory to the whole community. At present there are several versions, recognized by the different subsects of the Ismailis. The author defends the one which is accepted by the Musta'lians (who in India are known as Bohoras), who preserve the tradition of the later Fatimids. On the other hand, the Druzes, the Nizaris of Persia and India, each have a slightly different version. In the absence of any documents it is impossible to discover which of these is the right one. The great zeal of the author, which may be worthy of a devoted Ismaili, cannot replace facts, or documents which can prove them. Therefore the reader remains unconvinced, and the question is thus left to be solved by further researches.

DR. ḤASAN IBRÂHÎM ḤASAN. *al-Fâṭimiyyûn fî Miṣr wa A'mâluhum as-Siyâsiyya wa'd-Dîniyya bi-wajh khâṣṣ*. Cairo (Government Publication), 1932, pp. 22+367. With several good photographs, and with maps on separate tables.

The work, in Arabic (though originally written in English), is the author's doctorate thesis,—a circumstance which explains many of its peculiarities. As usual in such ambitious theses of

Eastern students, three quarters of it consist of introductory and general matters which are merely extracts from, or summaries of the well-known, classical or other works of Western scholars, without which, indeed, no progress in research can be done, but which suffer much in such abbreviations and paraphrases by beginners. The contribution of the author, in the way of unearthing fresh information, forms a very small proportion in the volume, and those matters which directly refer to the subject mentioned in the title of the book are those dealt with in the chapters III, V, VI, VII and VIII. They (V and VI) refer to the questions of administrative system of the Fatimids, introduced by them in Egypt, while VII and VIII are devoted to what can be described as the state of "material culture" at the period, and various ceremonies at the Court. The author's promise to reveal something about their religious organisation remains unfulfilled. The information about the places in which Ismailism was preached in Cairo in reality is nothing but a descriptive list of the architectural monuments of the dynasty. The nature of the doctrine preached in these mosques, palaces, etc., remains obscure. It is a pity that the author did not make himself acquainted with the *Wajhi dîn* and the *Zâdu'l-musâfirîn* of Nâṣiri Khusraw, which were already accessible at the time when he was working over his book. The first of these books gives a fairly correct idea of the religious system, and the second—of the philosophy of the Fatimids.

It seems that the Government of Egypt were right in publishing this work in Arabic. For Egyptians themselves, and for Arabic-reading public generally, it will be a very valuable novelty, and much of the material which presents nothing new to the Western student will be read for the first time by those who cannot read European languages.

SHAYKH 'ABDU'L-LÂH B. AL-MURTAḌÂ AL-KHAWÂBÎ. *al-Falaku'd-Dawwâr fi Shamâ'il-A'immati'l-Aṭhâr.* Aleppo (Print. in the Maronite Press), 1352/1933, pp. 22+275.

The work is remarkable in that it is written, and even published, by a Syrian Ismaili. Every one who knows the great mystery in

which the Syrian Ismailis always kept everything that refers to their religion can appreciate the extent of the changes which are now going on, even in the most isolated communities of the East.

The work is divided into two unequal parts. The first occupies only 56 pages, and deals with vague and commonplace discussions on the subject of the part played by Divine providence in the world, on Divine Law, Imamat, and generally on the necessity of religion and piety. There is very little in all this that can even in the least give an idea about the beliefs of the Syrian Ismailis at present.

The second part is entirely devoted to the history of Ismailism, especially in Syria. The author derives the terms *Ismaili* and *Ismailism* not from Imam Ismâ'îl b. Ja'far, as this should be, but from Ismâ'îl, the son of Abraham. Thus his history has a wide range,—from Abraham to 1932. No wonder that it can give only very few details on the 212 octavo pages in fairly large type which the author has at his disposal. This disappointment is followed by another: the reader soon notices that the author apparently had neither written nor oral genuine Ismaili sources of information at his disposal, and entirely depends on a few well-known compendia of Muhammadan history, such as those by Ibn al-Athîr, Abû'l-Fidâ, etc. Not only European editions of various important Arabic texts, all books in Western languages, in Persian, etc., but even many Arabic works published in the East remain entirely unknown to him. Thus the reader finds very little that is new in this work. It is really doubtful whether a book like this can even be useful to those Arabs who do not read Western languages. It is remarkable that whenever the author refers to purely Ismaili matters, he seems to be rather helpless. For instance, the famous compendium of the Ismaili *fiqh*, the *Da'â'imu'l-Islâm*, written in the middle of the fourth c. A.H. by Qâḍî Nu'mân, is attributed (pp. 31, 32, etc.), to Imam Muḥammad Bâqir (first c. A.H.). Such a great saint and famous personage as Salmân Fârsî here (p. 50) becomes as-Sayyid Sulaymân al-Fârsî. The name Nizâr is often written Nidhâr, etc. Chronology is just as accurate.

W. I.

DR. BRUNO MARKOWSKI, Die materielle Kultur des Kabulgebietes, (=The Material Culture of the Kabul District). Asia Major, Leipzig 1932. Pp. XXXV, 154.

Afghanistan has played an important rôle in the history, ethnology, archæology, and development of Asia. She has become more and more known to us in the last decades through the works of scholars and keen observers. However, much work remains to be done for a scholarly study of the different aspects of Afghanistan.

We welcome, therefore, the book of Dr. B. Markowski in which he deals with some branches of descriptive ethnology. The author, formerly teacher in the Amanie High School in Kabul, collected his material during a three years' stay there by studying the country and mixing with all classes of people. Thus he obtained an intimate knowledge of their ways of living. The results of his studies are embodied in this thorough, well informed and scholarly book.

The author introduces us in the first part of the book to the fundamental physical conditions on the basis of which the " material culture " is laid ; so he discusses in separate chapters the Geography, the Climate[1] and Products, the People,[2] Languages[3] and Religion giving an instructive outline of them. Then he describes fully the material culture dealing with the following aspects : principles of building, style, material, the house and its establishment (furniture, light, fire, kitchen, kitchen-utensils, etc.), clothing, feeding, servants, trade and traffic, industries, handicrafts, etc. Good photos and drawings illustrate the description and give a vivid idea of the things described.

We find, however, that the material culture of the Kabul District has been influenced in more respects than one by India. This is not surprising because of the geographical situation (Kabul

[1] An interesting table of Kabul Temperature and Rainfall is given in J. D. Ahmad and M. A. Aziz, *Afghanistan,* Kabul, 1934.

[2] For racial elements the author could have referred also to: H. W. Bellew, *The Races of Afghanistan,* Lahore, 1880; L. A. Starr, *Frontier Folk of the Afghan Border,* London, 1921; P. L. Pennel, *Among the wild tribes of the Afghan Frontier,* London, 1911; Robertson, *The Kafirs of the Hindukush,* London, 1890.

[3] Instead of Pushto " Ku-ke " p. 55, read "sū-ke."

river and other tributaries of the Indus ; passes of Khyber, Paiwar Kotal, Gomal, etc.) and the fact that India has always been in close contact with Afghanistan.

O. Spies.

Ṛgveda Saṁhitā, Parts I and II, August and September 1933 ; published By Satis Candra Seal, M.A.,B.L., Hon. Secretary, Indian Research Institute, 58, Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta. Price, inland, Rs. 1-8 + 1-8 ; foreign, 2*s*. 6*d*.+2*s*. 6*d*.

The scheme of publishing the text of the Ṛgveda along with translation in three languages (English, Hindi and Bengali), the Bhāṣya of Sāyanācārya and full critical notes which is put forward by the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta, is indeed a gigantic one. After Griffith, nobody has published a reliable translation of the Ṛgvedic hymns with adequate explanatory notes in English. The need of such a translation is very keenly felt for a long time, and particularly so when Griffith's translation has by now become antiquated in several places in view of the scholarly exposition of the Ṛgvedic hymns made by the two great German scholars, Oldenberg and Geldner.

The personnel of the Board of Editors, whose services the Institute has secured, is such as ought to command general respect and it would not be too much to expect that full justice will be done to the several difficult hymns in the Ṛgveda Saṁhitā. The translation is good and the notes, as far as can be judged from the first two fascicules, are generally up-to-date and full. A few words, however, seem to have been left without any critical notes ; *e.g.*, the word 'sūpāyano' in I. 9. The word 'Satyam' again in I. 6, does not appear to be correctly interpreted. When used predicatively in such context, it has the sense of 'everlasting, permanent, incontestable, not to be undone by any one else &c.' Cf. Grassmann, Woërterbuch, p. 1451, under Satya 4. According to Geldner, Glossar, p. 187, the word in our passage means 'earnestly or honestly intended &c.' Nor is the translation of this word according to Sāyana, as is claimed by the editor, for Sāyana's comment on this word is 'Etacca satyam, tatra na visaṁvādosti.' A more systematic method of abbreviations too requires to be

followed. Thus *e.g.*, Dr. Pradhan's paper could have been more briefly alluded to on pp. 5 and 6 of the English translation in fasc. I.

The bold attempt of the Institute very richly deserves active support and sympathy from all who feel interested in the oldest literature of India and also of the world.

H. D. V.

VEDIC VARIANTS by M. BLOOMFIELD and F. EDGERTON, Vol. I. The Verb, 1930; Vol. II.—Phonetics, 1932; Vol. III.—Noun and Pronoun Inflection, 1934. Published by the Linguistic Society of America, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

These three volumes are the outcome of patient and intelligent labour extending over several years of the two renounced Sanskritists of America, M. Bloomfield and F. Edgerton, particularly the latter. The aim of these volumes is to present a grammatical and stylistic study of the entire mass of the variant readings in the repeated Mantras of the Vedic tradition, numbering about 10,000. The work owes its origin, as we gather from the preface, to Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance.

The wonderful material that is gathered here, is most interesting and instructive from the point of view of general Linguistics. It illustrates very vividly how different causes, both subjective and objective, contributed in bringing about these variants in the Vedic texts. Thus though the considerations of metre are responsible for a large number of such variants, yet an author's tendency or fondness for a particular form or expression, his defective memory playing mischief while reproducing an older saying or expression, or even his expressional convenience have often been the cause of different readings of one and the same Vedic Mantra in different texts. One more important result emerging out of these researches into the Vedic variants is the unmistakable evidence of the influence of the popular Prakritic phonology upon the language of the Vedic poets, of course, due to their unconscious handling of their material. But more interesting still is the conscious attempt, which is very obvious, on the part of some of these poets to remove such influence and their general eagerness to puritanise the language,

which alone can account for the existence of a certain class of the Vedic variants, where there obviously is a hyper-Sanskritic correction of a really non-corrupt text, which however phonetically resembles a corrupt one.

But apart from this linguistic interest of the Vedic variants, they also sometimes serve as an important commentary on the earlier forms, showing in what sense they were taken by the poets, who introduced these later variants for the earlier forms. Students of Vedic literature will most heartily welcome this very rich mass of material, skilfully and systematically arranged, so as to be useful to them at every step.

H. D. V.

THE MAURYAN POLITY. By MR. V. R. RAMCHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M.A., Madras University, Historical Ser. No. 8, 1932. Pp. 394. Rs. 6.

This is one of the numerous works that owe their conception to the publication of the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya. The learned author after exhaustively dealing with the several arguments of his predecessors comes to the conclusion that the Kauṭilīya is a work of the 4th century B.C. He gives a comparative table (pp. 47-48) of technical and other words that are common to the Inscriptions of Aśoka and the Kauṭilīya. There are chapters on the extent and character of the Mauryan Empire, on the central administration, on Provincial and Local Governments and on the Mauryan State in relation to Dharma. Two Appendices deal with the authenticity of the Kauṭilīya and a comparison of the fragments of Megasthenes with the Kauṭilīya are added.

The book under review is a painstaking work and is a very useful compilation. The printing and general get-up are attractive. But we are constrained to say that the learned author has been very often carried away by his reverence for great names. Following the late M. M. Ganapati Śāstri he holds that Bhāsa belongs to the 6th century B.C. (p. 19), that Kauṭilya quotes from Bhāsa's Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa and that the Smṛti of Yājñavalkya is anterior to the Kauṭilīya (p. 22). Very few scholars would in these days accept any of these conclusions. The learned author throughout employs the form Kauṭalīya (and not Kauṭilīya) and

has devoted several pages (pp. 311-316) to the discussion of the question of the proper form of the name. But the discussion is neither thorough nor convincing. He brushes aside the ancient literary evidence of the Mudrārākṣasa which derives Kauṭilya from 'Kuṭila' as ingenious or imaginary and slavishly follows the late Ganapati Sāstri. But that learned *savant* had himself printed the name as Kauṭilya in the first few pages of his edition and only later on it dawned upon him to change the name to Kauṭalya. The Pravara-mañjarī (pp. 32 and 161) as printed (Mysore) favours the form Kauṭilya also. There is a very important piece of evidence to show that Kauṭilya was a gotra. Vide the third lost plate of the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman, where the gotra of a donee is distinctly chiselled as Kauṭilya and not Kauṭalya (E.I. Vol. 19, p. 245 and p. 248). The passage quoted in a footnote from the Vāyupurāṇa by the learned author himself (p. 4) contains the word 'Kauṭilya' twice. The gotra Kuṭala is not mentioned in the Pravara sections of the Āpastamba, Āśvalāyana and other śrauta sūtras and it is very likely that it was coined by the lexicographers and later writers on gotra. The learned author appears to think (p. 14) that the purāṇa mentioned in the Upaniṣads like the Chāndogya is to be connected more or less with the purāṇa works now extant. This is quite unwarranted. The great Śaṅkarācārya while commenting on Bṛhadāraṇyaka II. 4.10 is very careful to point out that the word purāṇa therein refers to Brāhmaṇa passages only (and not to the well-known purāṇas).

Though there are many places where the conclusions reached by the author are far from being acceptable, on the whole the work presents a patient and thoughtful investigation of the available material on the history of the Mauryas and deserves to be consulted by students of the history of Ancient India.

P. V. K.

THE AGE OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS. By Prof. R. D. BANERJI, Benares Hindu University, 1933. Pp. 81. Rs. 10+250+41 plates.

A melancholy interest attaches to this volume. It embodies the six lectures that the late Prof. Banerji delivered at the Hindu University in 1924. The gifted author did not live long enough

to see the work published, and the task of giving it the final touches and bringing it out fell on Prof. A. S. Altekar, on whom the mantle of Prof. Banerji has fallen as Manindra Chandra Nandy Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture. The work deals with one of the most glorious periods of ancient Indian History and supplies a long-felt want. Though Dr. Fleet's monumental work on the Gupta Inscriptions has been in the hands of scholars for several decades and though a great deal has been said about the Guptas in several works and periodicals, the work under review presents in a connected form the several aspects of the Gupta period. In six chapters the learned Professor deals with the chronology of the Imperial Guptas, their system of administration and peerage, the religious and literary revival under them, their architecture and plastic art and coinage under them. The plates are well-printed and add materially to the usefulness of the work. Prof. Banerji is not content merely to give the results arrived at by other scholars. He offers discriminating criticism of his predecessors' views and makes his own contribution also to the exposition of doubtful and difficult points. We commend this book to all interested in ancient Indian History.

P. V. K.

BHĀṬṬACINTĀMAṆI OF VAÑCHEŚVARAYAJVAN. Edited by M. M. VEṄKAṬA SUBRAHMANYA ŚASTRI. Madras Law Journal Press. Pp. 118+8+482+32. 1934. Rs. 6.

The book contains the text of Khaṇḍadeva's Bhāṭṭadīpikā of which the present work is a commentary. Bhāṭṭadīpikā is an important work on the Pūrvamīmāṅsā, though it belongs to the latter half of the 17th century. The volume under review brings it down to the third *pāda* of the third *adhyāya*. It has been already published in the Bibliotheca India Series and elsewhere, but as the commentary is a new one scholars will welcome this edition. The Sanskrit introduction gives a tolerably full account of the family of the commentator and of his literary activities. The commentary is a lucid and learned one. The editor has made a praiseworthy attempt to trace to their sources the numerous quotations occurring in the commentary. The type is excellent. One, however, regrets to find that the proof-correction has not

been what one would have in such a learned work and thirty-two pages of *corrigenda* do not appear to exhaust the numerous lapses that are broadcast (*e.g. vide* p. 138 'gauranūbandyaḥ.')

P. V. K.

THE UṆĀDISŪTRAS IN VARIOUS RECENSIONS. Edited by T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A., Madras University Sanskrit Series (No. 7.) 1933.

Part I—The Uṇādisūtras with the Vṛtti of Śvetevanavāsin. Pp. 15+236+46. Rs. 3.

Part II—The Uṇādisūtras with the Prakriyāsarvasva of Nārāyaṇa. Pp. 12+149+63. Rs. 2-8.

Mr. T. R. Chintamani and the Madras University deserve the thanks of all Sanskrit scholars, particularly those interested in Grammar and Etymology, for this scholarly edition of the Uṇādisūtras with two commentaries. The project of bringing out an edition of the Uṇādisūtras with several commentaries in seven volumes is a very ambitious one. The learned editor has laid Sanskrit scholars under great obligations by providing excellent indices of quotations and words. The printing and general get-up are excellent. The work is a creditable performance and we hope that the remaining volumes will be brought out at an early date.

P. V. K.

VIBHRAMAVIVEKA OF MAṆḌANA MIŚRA. Edited by M. M. Prof. S. KUPPUSWĀMI ŚASTRI, M.A., I.E.S. and Prof. T. V. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, Journal of Oriental Research, Madras. 1932. Pp. 25. As. 12.

The text is based on a single manuscript available to the editors in the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras, which shows lacunae and corrupt readings in many places. The editors, therefore, have suggested many additions and emendations by comparing this text with a corresponding portion of Ācārya Maṇḍana's other works, such as Brahmasiddhi and Vidhiviveka. The additions and emendations are enclosed within rectangular brackets, so that a critical reader can judge of their propriety or otherwise.

This little book contains 162 stanzas and is a valuable addition to the Vedantic literature already published, firstly because it is written by no less an authority than Ācārya Maṇḍana, a great Mīmāṁsaka and Adwaitin, and secondly because it deals with various theories of error (Bhrama), a very important and knotty problem of Indian Epistemology. In this book the author discusses the four chief theories of Bhrama, usually known as the Khyātivādas, *i.e.*, Ātmakhyāti, Asatkhyāti, Akhyāti and Anyathākhyāti and tries to maintain the Bhātta theory of Viparītakhyāti, which is akin to the Nyāya theory of Anyathākhyāti.

In the scholarly introduction to this book, Prof. S. Kuppuswāmi Śāstri subjects all these theories to a searching and critical analysis and makes an ingenious suggestion for an appropriate graph, showing the Epistemological inter-relation of these theories, with Asatkhyāti as the centre and all other theories forming a circle around. Very few critics would like to differ from the learned editor when he appropriately concludes 'Yes and no are but phases of the same reality;................Error is the ante-chamber of Truth.'

We eagerly await the publication of two more works of the same author, namely, Brahmasiddhi and Sphotasiddhi by the Sanskrit Department of the Oriental Institute of the Madras University.

V. A. G.

A STUDY OF ANCIENT INDIAN NUMISMATICS. By SURENDRA KISHORE CHAKRABORTTY, M.A., M.R.A.S., *Professor of History*, Anandmohan College, Mymensingh, Bengal. 1931.

Here is another attempt at diving into the unfathomable depth of Ancient Indian Numismatics. Foreign scholars like Princeps, Cunningham, Smith and Rapson have all toiled before and left for our guidance the results of their research work. Since then several hoards have come to light, and fresh attempts in the line have chances of greater success. Dr. Bhandarkar has published his lectures in a book form, and Dr. Chakrabortty has come forward to plod in this almost unexplored field. Each one of these has tried to cover a vast field and a long period of Indian history, and it is but natural that even in spite of great endeavours

nothing substantial could be achieved. India extends over a wide area and the period under research is a pretty long one. If, therefore, the work is split up and enthusiasts were to carry on research individually in their own provinces, and if the ancient period were also divided into 3 or 4 convenient subdivisions, the chances of substantial research and success would be brighter.

I do not believe all the same in damping the spirit of such enthusiastic workers by stamping their work as an "amateurish attempt," but would welcome them and others to co-operate with the Numismatic Society of India and contribute their quota of research work on the lines indicated above.

Dr. Chakrabortty ought to have tried to make his book more popular by omitting chapters on weights, denominations and metrology of coins, subjects which cannot be discussed at sufficient length in a brochure of this type. A few illustrations especially of novel types of Tribal coins that are described in the last chapter ought to have been attempted in as much as Cunningham's book on *Ancient Indian Coins* and other catalogues referred to by him are becoming more and more scarce. It is wise of him to have given at the end a general Index which is specially useful to beginners.

G. V. A.

A PRIMER OF INDIAN LOGIC. By M. M. Prof. S. KUPPUSWĀMI ŚĀSTRI, M.A., I.E.S. Published by P. Varadachary & Co., Madras, 1932, pp. 364.

The book is based on Annambhaṭṭa's Tarkasangraha and is primarily meant for the benefit of modern University students, especially students of Philosophy. The division into three parts, *i.e.*, the introduction, the text, and the exposition, is, no doubt, eminently well suited for the class of students mentioned above, but the text should have been printed along with the Dīpikā, so that it would have been of still greater use to the students of Sanskrit also. One special feature of this book which makes it at once indispensable to the students is the historical introduction in Part I, dealing with allied topics of Indian philosophical Sutras and the comparative exposition of each topic in Part III. It is needless here to point out the importance and the necessity of a

comparative study of all branches of Indian logic and philosophy at the present time, when a wider outlook is all the more needed on the part of Indian students.

In the introduction, the author endeavours to prove that the Vaiśeṣika Sutras and the Nyāya Sutras were redacted between the middle of the 4th century and the 2nd century B.C. on the strength of an extract from the Kautilya's Arthaśāstra, pp. 27-28 (Trivandrum edition) and its striking parallel in Vatsyāyana's Bhāṣya on the Nyāya Sutras I. 1.1. But the line of argument adopted is not very convincing in view of the fact that just as the Brahma-Sutras mentioned at Bhagavadgīta, XIII. 4 do not necessarily refer to the Brahma-Sutras of Bādarāyana, but to other Sutras composed by other authors, which later on became incorporated into the Bādarāyana Sutras, so also the expression Ānvīkṣiki in the Arthaśāstra does not necessarily presuppose the existence of the Vaiśeṣika Sutras and the Nyāya Sutras, but rather presuppose their underlying tenets not yet evolved into Sutras. This point of view, however, does not in any way lend support to Jacobi's arguments for the late date of the Philosophical Sutras, as they are obviously far less convincing than those advanced by Prof. Śastri.

V. A. G.

SIR ANTHONY SHERLEY AND HIS PERSIAN ADVENTURE. Edited by Sir E. DENISON ROSS. Pp. xxxviii, 293. The Broadway Travellers, Routledge, London. 1933. 12*s*. 6*d*.

Sir Anthony Sherley was a remarkable adventurer. Born in 1565, he became an ambassador in the service of the "Great Sophi," Shāh 'Abbās, and after a stormy career and changing many masters, died in 1628. "He was"—according to the learned editor—"an inveterate and unscrupulous intriguer, a sententious hypocrite devoid of all real sentiment, being incapable of single-minded devotion to any person or cause. He had all the natural instincts of a buccaneer, and his cupidity was only equalled by his extravagance." On the other hand, he had great physical courage and a reckless love of adventure. Combined with keen powers of observation and a retentive memory was his talent as a linguist. His extraordinary career may be explained by "an almost hypnotic power in personal intercourse which he possessed."

There is a scholarly Bibliographical Introduction, a Bibliography and a memoir (97 pages) by the Editor. Then follow the four narratives which constitute a record of his career: I. The Anonymous *True Report;* II. William Parry's *New and large* Discourse; III. Abel Pinçon's *Relation;* and IV. George Manwaring's *True Discourse.* The appendix of about 20 pages consists of extracts from Sir Anthony's own writings and letters.

The Broadway Travellers have set up a high standard of scholarship. The volume before us fully maintains that standard, and on account of the entertaining matter it contains it is also to be recommended to the general reader.

AL-ANDALUS—Revista de las Escuelas de Estudios Arabes de Madrid of Granada, Vol. I, Fasciculi 1 and 2. Madrid, 1933.

Spain is nobly repaying to Islam the legacy she owes to that religion. This is a learned oriental quarterly published at Madrid dealing with Islamic matters and got-up in the most excellent fashion. The name *al-Andalūs* has itself a fascination for all students of history; it conjures up the memory of the fusion of two remarkable peoples and the rise of a great culture, quite distinct from several others and yet a part of Islamic civilization. One of the editors is Miguel Asin Palacios. That by itself ensures a high standard. On the cover page, in consonance with the artistic spirit of *Andalūsia*, is an arabesque design which is both distinctive and beautiful. The articles seem to be very learned and interesting; we only regret that being in Spanish very few of us in India can derive any benefit from them. A feature is the beautiful printing and get-up; the Arabic type is cut on the Maghribian models and is both artistic and legible. We wish the Review all success.

INDIAN PSYCHOLOGY: Perception. By JADUNATH SINHA, Professor of Philosophy, Meerut College. Kegan Paul, 15*s.* net.

Professor Sinha has undertaken the task of expounding the whole range of Hindu Psychology. This task has never before been essayed in so thorough-going a manner. The work is to be

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J. McK.

The Islamic Research Association, Bombay, has published the following works in their series: (1) *Diwan of Khaki Khorasani*, Persian text, ed. W. Ivanow, 1933. Rs. 1-10. (2) *Two Early Ismaili Treatises* (*Haft Babi Baba Sayyid-na* and *Matlubu'l-Mu'minin*) by Nasiru'd-din Tusi. Persian text, ed. W. Ivanow, 1933. Rs. 0-14. (3) *TrueMeaning of Religion* (*Risala dar Haqiqati Din*) by Shihabu'd-din Shah. Persian text, edited and translated by W. Ivanow. 1933. Rs. 1-4. (4) *Kalami Pir* (*Haft Babi Sayyid Nasir*). Persian text, edited and translated by W. Ivanow, 1935. Rs. 6-8.

Works in preparation are: *Arabon ki Jahaz-rani* (Arab Navigation) by Syed Sulaiman Nadwi; *Muqaddima* of Ibn Khaldūn, Eng. Translation, by Dr. U. M. Daudpota; *al-Jahiz and his Times* by Dr. M. B. Rehman; *A Creed of the Shi'ites*, by Asaf A. A. Fyzee. Particulars of the Association may be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, Asaf A. A. Fyzee, Esq., M.A. (Cantab.), 43, Chaupati Road, Bombay 7, INDIA.

Bombay, *April*, 1935.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Mahābhāratā: Analysis and Index. By EDWARD P. RICE. (Oxford University Press). 1934. Pp. 15+112. Rs. 5.

Journal of Vedic Studies. Vol. I, No. 1, January 1934. Edited by Prof. RAGHU VIRA, M.A., Ph.D. (Published by Mehar Chand Lachhman Das, Lahore). Annual Subscription Rs. 12 or 20/-

Padyāvali of Rūpa Gosvāmin. (Dacca University Oriental Series No. 3). 1934. Critically edited by SUSHIL KUMAR DE. Pp. 144+296. Rs. 7-8.

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Maukharis. By E. A. PIRES, M.A. (B. G. Paul & Co.) 1934. Pp. 18+220.

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Hindu Mysticism according to the Upanisads: By MAHENDRANATH SARKAR. (Kegan Paul). 1934. Pp. 344. 15/-.

Ajanta and the Unity of Art: Fundamental impulses of Art, Eastern and Western. By W. E. GLADSTONE SOLOMON. ('Drashti' Office, Bombay). Ans. 4.

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Catalogue of Arabic Printed Books in the British Museum. By A. G. ELLIS. Vol. III. Pp. 454.

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TRANSLITERATION OF THE SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ	a	औ	au	ठ	ṭh	भ	bh
आ	ā	क	k	ड	ḍ	म	m
इ	i	ख	kh	ढ	ḍh	य	y
ई	ī	ग	g	ण	ṇ	र	r
उ	u	घ	gh	त	t	ल	l
ऊ	ū	ङ	ṅ	थ	th	व	v
ऋ	ṛ	च	c	द	d	श	ś
ॠ	ṝ	छ	ch	ध	dh	ष	ṣ
ऌ	ḷ	ज	j	न	n	स	s
ए	e	झ	jh	प	p	ह	h
ऐ	ai	ञ	ñ	फ	ph	ळ	ḻ
ओ	o	ट	ṭ	ब	b		

ं (*Anusvāra*)	ṁ	× (*Jihvāmūlīya*)	ẖ
ँ (*Anunāsika*)	m̐	≍ (*Upadhmānīya*)	ḫ
ः (*Visarga*)	ḥ	ऽ (*Avagraha*)	'

TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

Arabic.

ا	a	ز	z	ق	q	ـِ	i or
ب	b	س	s	ك	k	ـُ	u or o
ت	t	ش	sh	ل	l	ـَا	ā
ث	th	ص	ṣ	م	m	ـِي	ī
ج	j	ض	ḍ	ن	n	ـُو	ū, o
ح	ḥ	ط	ṭ	و	w	ـَي	ai
خ	kh	ظ	ẓ	ه	h	ـَو	au
د	d	ع	ʿ	ي	y	silent t	h̤
ذ	dh	غ	gh	ء	ʾ		
ر	r	ف	f	ـَ	a		

Persian.

پ	p	چ	ch	ژ	zh	گ	g

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